

Prof. J.C. Jain presenting one of his books to the then Vice President Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma.

JAINISM AND PRAKRIT IN ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL INDIA

ESSAYS FOR
PROF. JAGDISH CHANDRA JAIN

edited by
N.N. Bhattacharyya

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Contents

Editor's Note

It is indeed a matter of great pleasure that we have been able to bring out this felicitation volume in honour of Prof. J.C. Jain who is a legend in the field of Prakrit and Jinological studies. Preparation of such a volume on a single theme, a difficult task indeed, was made possible by the contributors who considered its publication to be a pleasant duty and sent their learned articles with remarkable promptitude. Some of the senior savants, despite their illness and other constraints also sent their articles. Among them Prof. K.D. Bajpai, a father-figure in the field of Indological studies and a friend of Prof. Jain has since passed away. His death is a great loss to the scholarly world. The present volume contains his last article.

Prof. Jain came to the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta, to attend a seminar a few years ago. We knew the scholar, but not the man. His towering personality, his pleasant way of talking, his strong sense of humour and his habit of taking everything in a very easy way had such an enchanting effect on us that we very often talked about him among ourselves. It was during these talks that the idea of a felicitation volume for Prof. Jain emerged, and since I was closely associated with him the task was naturally assigned to me. Prof. N. R. Ray, Director, Institute of Hisorical Studies, Prof. B.N. Mukherjee, Director, School of Historical and Culture Studies and Dr. Gautam Sengupta, Director, State Archaeology, Government of West Bengal assured me all co-operation and offered their help for this project. But my major problem was solved by Sri Ajay Jain of Manohar Publishers and Distributors who took the entire responsibility of publishing the volume. I am grateful to all of them.

I express my sincere gratitude to the scholars—all eminent in their own fields—who have contributed to this volume. In fact the present volume is a combined effort of all the scholars whose contributions this volume contains and also of those who remaining in the background have actively helped in making the venture to felicitate Prof. Jain a success. The scholarly articles contained in this volume add new dimensions to various aspects of Prakrit and Jinology. All credit

goes to the contributors while the editor is solely responsible for the errors and blemishes.

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SECTION I

Prof. J.C. Jain: A Biographical Sketch

In the scholarly world Prof. Jagdish Chandra Jain is known as a great historian and as an authority in Prakrit language and literature. But basically he is a creative artist, a philosopher whose approach towards life is conducive to the welfare of mankind as a whole. The wealth of experience which he acquired in his chequered career through many ups and downs, poverty and hardship, toil and turmoil, has given him a heroic magnificence, a rare insight and a power to transcend human frailties and limitations. The story of his life reads like an epic. Though it lacks epic grandeur, it is not devoid of epic qualities.

This great life had a very humble start. Prof. Jain was born in 1909 at a village called Baseḍā (also known as Rāṇī-ka-Baseḍā) which was situated in the Doab region of Western Uttar Pradesh, about 12 miles from Muzaffarnagar, the district town. He belonged to an educated Vaiśya family which was then in straitened circumstances. His father Sri Kanjimal Jain owned a small shop of Unānī medicine. He was a man of strong character and determination, fond of music and had reputation in playing sitār. Jagdish Chandra was born of his second wife. He had two brothers and one sister, and he was the youngest. His one brother and sister passed away at a young age. His mother Smt. Bholi was a kind-hearted simple lady who hailed from a small place near Najibabad in the Bijnore district.

Disaster came in the Jain family when his father died a victim of plague. Jagdish Chandra was then two and half years old. The burden of maintaining the family fell on his mother. This noble lady had to muster enough courage and endure tremendous hardship in order to look after her two sons. There was none to give her company, except Nanno, an old Muslim lady from a neighbouring family. After a few stormy years, his elder brother Sri Gulshanrai who had lost one of his eyes in smallpox, began to look after the family. It was under his care and patronage that Jagdish Chandra was sent to the village *pāṭhaśālā* (primary school run by a single teacher) at the age of six.

In the village *pāṭhaśālā* Jagdish Chandra studied Hindi under Paṇḍit Mangat Ram *alias* Mangu Paṇḍit. It was a very small school

where Muslim students also used to read. Prof. Jain recollects that his teacher was fond of playing sitār and an expert in the game of chess. There was no regular tuition fee, but Paṇḍitji was offered a gift in the form of small money and a *śārī* for his wife. He remembers that Paṇḍitji used to celebrate the festival of *janmāṣṭamī* (birthday of Lord Kṛṣṇa) when coloured designs of Hindu deities were drawn on the walls of the *pāṭhaśālā*. The annual function of Chowk-Chākaḍī was held when Paṇḍitji led his students to their respective homes where they recited *chaupi* or *chaupai* composed by Paṇḍitji himself, and played with their *daṇḍas* (small coloured wooden sticks) moving in a circle, as in the *daṇḍiyā-rāsa* of Gujarat.

At the age of nine Jagdish Chandra completed his studies in the *pāṭhaśālā*. His elder brother—a simple villager and a poor man as he was—thought of providing him the training of a *munim* (writer of accounts) by sending him to Deoband which was not far from Muzaffarnagar. A *pādhā* (teacher) was employed from a neighbouring village who started giving him lessons in Mudiyā script (the script of maintaining accounts). But this did not work. The teacher was worthless. He used to beat the students for nothing. So his elder brother thought of sending him to some Jain *gurukul*. He learnt that at Hastinapur in the Meerut district there was a Ṛṣabha Brahmacaryāśrama where free education was provided. The affectionate mother did not like to part with her younger son, but his elder brother was made of sterner stuff. He was determined to educate his brother.

Jagdish Chandra had hardly crossed the age of nine when his brother accompanied him to the *āśrama* at Hastinapur and got him admitted there. The whole atmosphere was changed. The life-style was altogether different. He was called by the name of Brahmacārin Mṛgendra instead of Jagdish. The students of the *āśrama* led a simple disciplined life. They got up early in the morning, had their prayer, studied their lessons and performed their daily duties. Mahātmā Bhagavāndeen, an associate of Arjunlal Sethi of Ajmer, a known revolutionary, was the administrator. But as Prof. Jain recollects, Bhagavāndeen could not continue there. He had to leave the *āśrama* probably on account of his progressive views. In his *āśrama* life Jagdish Chandra must have learnt some aspects of Jaina doctrine. The rigorous discipline of *āśrama* life must have also left a tangible impact on his subsequent career. After leaving this *āśrama* Jagdish Chandra joined another Jain *pāṭhaśālā* at Morena in the Gwalior district which was established by Pandit Gopaldas Baraiya.

In 1923 at the age of 14 he came to Vārāṇasī from Saharanpur and got himself admitted to Syādvāda Jain Mahāvidyālaya. It was located on the Bhadainighat on the bank of Ganga. Here Jagdish Chandra studied Sanskrit, Jain religion, *vyākaraṇa* (grammar), *sāhitya* (literature) and *nyāya* (logic). Vārāṇasī is a big place known for its ancient traditions. At this time there were numerous Sanskrit *pāṭhaśālās* in Kāśi (Vārāṇasī) where education was imparted, free; and besides, one had not to pay anything for board and lodging; in *sadāvratas* food was given to students. Here and there philosophical discussions were held in Sanskrit by the Paṇḍits. This was then a common sight. It was in Vārāṇasī that Jagdish Chandra achieved his mental enrichment. Here from his own experience he realised the greatness of India's cultural heritage; and this realisation paid much dividend in his later life.

At Vārāṇasī Jagdish Chandra studied Sanskrit diligently. He passed several Sanskrit examinations. And finally he received the Śāstrī degree in Jain Dharmaśāstra. He also studied Āyurveda (traditional science of Indian medicine) for some time so that in future he had not to depend on Jain institutions run by the Seṭhiās. But a Śāstrī degree in Jain Dharmaśāstra or some knowledge in Āyurveda was not sufficient to provide him a livelihood. He came from a poor family; he had lost his father in his childhood; his brother was struggling hard to maintain the family. In order to earn a livelihood knowledge of English and modern education were essential. But without money how could one study English?

However, a student of Banaras Hindu University agreed to teach him English. But this attempt was not successful. This student-teacher felt so tired after returning from his college that he could hardly do justice to his job. Moreover, Jagdish Chandra had no money to pay him. Later, together with a few friends, he made a plan to sit for the Matriculation examination. The syllabus of the Matriculation examination of the Banaras Hindu University proved difficult for him because it comprised numerous subjects. Hence the University of Punjab was thought of which was then known for its not very high standards. Besides there were not so many compulsory subjects. But to get permission to appear in the Punjab Matriculation was not easy. So he had to go to Delhi, contact a local headmaster, get the application form duly signed by him and thus receive permission to sit for the examination. He somehow engaged a private tutor who selected some important questions to be studied for the examination. History and Geography were left out. The results of the examination appeared in the daily newspaper

and when Jagdish Chandra saw his name among successful candidates he did not believe his eyes for a moment. This happened in 1926.

His elder brother was happy. But, a practical man as he was, he advised Jagdish Chandra to take up science course in first year in the college so that he could appear in the Overseers examination at Roorkee. Accordingly Jagdish Chandra joined the science course in the Banaras Hindu University, though rather reluctantly. He also received a scholarship. But as he had no background of science he could not follow the class lectures. The result was that he failed to get promoted in the second year. His scholarship was discontinued. His condition became precarious. Desperately, he made an application to A.B. Dhruva, the Principal of the Arts College, explaining that he had failed because his English was weak. His case was reconsidered and he was promoted to the second year. Meanwhile, during his college vacations he appeared in the Overseer examination at Roorkee, but here also he failed. At the Arts College he worked hard and somehow passed the Intermediate Examination in Science (1928). He bade farewell to science and changed over to arts taking up Sanskrit and philosophy as his subjects. He obtained B.A. degree in 1930. Thereafter the got himself admitted in the M.A. course with philosophy as his subject of study.

His college life was neither smooth nor peaceful. He was in fact then a street boy struggling hard for his daily bread. His way of living during that period fitted in well with the Sanskrit proverb *bhojanaṃ yatratatra śayanam haṭṭamandire*. This precarious existence—the agony of somehow passing the day, of somehow managing to survive—naturally created in him a revolutionary spirit, an urge to change the society, to change the fate of the downtrodden. Here we find the root of his subsequent inclination towards Marxism. But at that time he felt that the British rule in India was the root of all evil. That is why when Mahatma Gandhi launched his Satyāgraha movement in 1930 Jagdish Chandra left his studies and joined the movement. He left Vārāṇasī and went to his village to work among the people. There he organised the volunteers for the Civil Disobedience movement and delivered fiery speeches. A warrant was issued against him. Then he left his village and went to Ajmer where he was employed as a school teacher. But his Gandhi cap came in the way. The headmaster objected to the use of the cap. His argument was that since Ajmer was a state of British India he could not be permitted to wear it. But committed to a principle as he was, Jagdish Chandra left his job.

But the mass movement which Gandhiji had launched eventually subsided giving a place to political dialogue between the British rulers

and the nationalist leaders. Jagdish Chandra rejoined the Banaras Hindu University and obtained M.A. degree in philosophy. He got married in 1929. His wife Kamalasri came from a good family. Her father was a Hakim. She contributed a great deal to the growth of Prof. Jain. Jagdish Chandra tried to get a job at a number of places but could not succeed in finding any. Ultimately he got a scholarship to work as a research scholar in the Viśvabhāratī University at Santiniketan (abode of peace), West Bengal, which was the *āśrama* of Rabindranath Tagore. At Santiniketan he had his mental and intellectual rebirth. That was the most glorious period of Viśvabhāratī. The reflection of the personality of Gurudeva Rabindranath could be seen in every nook and corner. The atmosphere was international. Scholars and students from all over the world were there. Besides doing his own research work, Jagdish Chandra became well-acquainted with the culture of Santiniketan. He could express himself in Bengali and even sing Rabindrasaṅgīt, the songs composed by the poet Tagore. Now he recollects with ecstatic pleasure the experience of his personal contact with Rabindranath Tagore. He was also acquainted with other luminaries of Santiniketan like Vidhusekhar Sastri, Kshitimohan Sen, Nandalal Bose, Gurudayal Mallik, Hazari Prasad Dvivedi and others. His stay at Santiniketan brought a qualitative change in his personality and outlook. His wife was also there with him. She learnt Bengali, the songs of Tagore and also leather-craft from Santiniketan. The free life of this place brought a radical change is her outlook also.

The tenure of his scholarship over, he left Śāntiniketan and was again in search of an employment. A job was advertised in *Leader* of Allahabad. It was the post of a Manager of the Sthānakavāsī Jain Conference in Bombay. He applied for the job and got it. Besides official work, he had to look after their Gujarati Weekly *Jain Prakash*. This was in the year 1934. But the work did not suit his nature. Jagdish Chandra aspired for something higher. He got a job in St. Mary's European High School, Bombay. He was to teach Hindi to European students of the school. While teaching in that school he felt the need for good text books in Hindi. He himself prepared a set of Hindi textbooks for schools. These were later prescribed by the education department of the government of Maharashtra for secondary schools.

The earlier background of Sanskrit learning and the knowledge of the Śāstras which he had acquired in his younger days, the realistic view of life and its corresponding sociopolitical awareness obtained through hard experience, the mental and intellectual refinement achieved during his Santiniketan days, all this contributed to the development of a

mature personality and a creative spirit in Jagdish Chandra. In 1936, when his career was still uncertain, he edited the *Syādvādamañjarī* of Mallisena, which dealt with the six systems of Indian philosophy from the Jain point of view, with introduction, Hindi translation and several appendices. In the same year he published a critical edition of *Jambusvāmīcarita* from a Sanskrit manuscript. In 1937 he published *Śrīmad Rājacandra* (letters written by Rāyacanda Bhāi to his devotees) which he translated from Gujarati to Hindi with exhaustive introduction and appendices. These publications established him as a scholar. He joined the Ramnarain Ruia College of Bombay as a professor of Sanskrit. He also taught Ardhamāgadhī and Hindi and later was appointed as Head of the Department of Hindi. So confident was he in his scholarly ability that he began to guide the Ph.D. students in Hindi, though he had not obtained his own Ph.D. degree by that time.

But the permanent post of a professor and the prospect of a peaceful scholarly life did not satisfy him. He could not remain indifferent to the sociopolitical changes which were taking place at that time. India was then passing through a very critical period. The World War II had begun. People were not happy with the British government. Mahatma Gandhi led a vigorous Quit India Movement. Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose had escaped from his house-detention and reached Berlin from where he was broadcasting for his countrymen. There was repression all over the country. Jagdish Chandra could not remain an idle spectator. He joined the freedom movement in that tense atmosphere. As a result he was arrested and detained in the Worli Detention Camp, Bombay, in September 1942. During his prison days his political views became more sharpened. In jail he came into contact with Bhupendra Chakravarty, an old revolutionary from Bengal. He became a leftist, thought of the emancipation of the working class and was attracted to the Marxist ideology. When the end of World War II was drawing near the political atmosphere was changed and the prospect of India's freedom was within sight Jagdish Chandra was released. He went back to teaching in the same college.

During this stormy period his academic activities were not discontinued. His *Mahāvīra Vardhamāna*, which was later translated into many languages, came out in 1946. In the same year was also published another Hindi book of his *Do Hazār Baras Purāṇi Kahāniān*. His *Life in Ancient India as Depicted in Jain Canons*, for which he was awarded the Ph.D. degree in 1945 by the Bombay University, came out in 1947. It was an outstanding contribution to the study of Indian social history. In this work he had displayed an amazingly thorough acquaintance with the

modern historical methodology which normally could not be expected from a scholar taught in the traditional method of Sanskrit and Prakrit studies. What is more interesting is that the book deals with many such topics which appear to be repugnant from the orthodox Jain point of view. It reveals the scholarship of an unprejudiced mind in which facts are simply taken for facts.

The assassination of Mahatma Gandhi on January 30, 1948 was a memorable event in his life. He had to appear in the Gandhi Murder Trial at Red Fort in Delhi as the chief prosecution witness on behalf of the government of India. Jagdish Chandra had given advance information to the Bombay Government—the Chief Minister B.G. Kher and the Home Minister Morarji Desai—that a conspiracy was going on to kill the Mahātma. The fact was that, Madanlal, a Punjabi refugee and one of the conspirators of the murder of Mahatma Gandhi, was known to him. The man was grateful to Prof. Jain because the latter had helped him in various ways in securing some occupation. Once in a weak moment this man told Prof. Jain that they were planning to assassinate the Mahatma. At once Prof. Jain informed the Chief Minister and the Home Minister of Bombay of this conspiracy and suggested that measures should be taken to save the life of the Mahatma. It appears that the government did not take up the matter seriously and Morarji Desai, who was then the Home Minister of Bombay, rudely shouted saying 'in that case you are a conspirator and I will arrest you'. On 20th January 1948 the same Madanlal blasted a bomb at the prayer meeting of Mahatma Gandhi and was arrested. Prof. Jain repeatedly urged the government to give him a chance of interrogating Madanlal since he was confident that he would be able to persuade Madanlal to tell the names of the conspirators and disclose the nature of the conspiracy. But the government was not serious about it and the assassination of the Mahatma took place ten days later. He exposed the callousness of the government in this regard in his book *I Could not Save Bapu.*

From 1948 to 1952 he worked in the Ruia College during which period he published three Hindi works—*Prācīn Bhārat ki Kahāniyān* (translated from Pali 1948), *Sampradāyavāda* (1950) and *Bhārat ke Prācīn Jain Tīrtha* (1952). His service to the cause of Hindu literature was in the mean time recognised and appreciated. During this period the new Communist government of China was trying to strengthen its relation with free India. In fact at that time India was one of the very few countries which openly advocated that Communist China should be recognised by all nations and that it should have a respectable place in the U.N.O. That was the best period of the Sino-Indian relationship.

The Chinese government as a token of friendship with India opened a Hindi department in the University of Peking and wanted a professor from India for teaching Hindi to the Chinese students. Prof. Jain was found to be the best person for the job. He accepted the offer and joined the Peking University. That was a period of idealism in China. There was an all-round programme of national reconstruction in China which had been devastated in World War II and wrecked from within by a protracted civil war. Prof. Jain witnessed this Herculean effort with an eye of admiration which he recorded in his book *Amidst the Chinese People* which was published in 1955. During his stay in China his belief in the leftist ideology grew stronger. In the same year (1956) he published in Hindi a survey of Indian philosophical thoughts under the title *Bhāratīya Tattvacintana.*

In 1957 he was appointed as a professor of Prakrit and Jainology in the Vaisali Institute, Muzaffarpur, but his appointment was withheld by the Government of Bihar because of his leftist views. However, at the intervention of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, then prime minister of India, he was finally appointed in that post in 1958. After serving a few years in the Vaisali Institute he returned to his own Ruia College at Bombay. He retired in 1968. During this period he published a good number of literary and scholarly works in Hindi, among which mention should be made of *Dekhā Parkhā* (1958) which is a collection of short essays; *Hamāri Kahāniyān* in three parts (1957, 1958, 1967) containing stories from the *Jātakas*, *Hitopadeśa* and *Pañcatantra* respectively; *Prakrit Puṣkariṇī* (1961) which is a collection of Prakrit Gāthās from the works of Sanskrit rhetoricians with Hindi introduction and translation; *Viśva Sāhitya ke Jyotipuñja* (1962) dealing with life-sketches of literary men of the world; *Jain Āgama Sāhitya men Bhāratiya Samāj* (1965) dealing with aspects of Indian life as found in the Jain canonical literature; *Jain Sāhitya Ka Bṛhad Itihāsa* (1966) and so forth. His *Soviet Roos: Pitā ke Patron men* (1966) brought him the Soviet Land Nehru Award. His *Pāśaātya SamīkṣāDarśan* (1969) is an authentic work in Hindi on western literary criticism. In 1970 he delivered a series of lectures in the L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad. These lectures appeared in book form in 1971 under the title *Prakrit Jain Kathā Sāhitya.*

In 1970 Prof. Jain got an assignment in the University of Kiel (West Germany) where he worked as a research scholar for four years (1970- 74). There he worked on the *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, an ancient Jain text written in Maharashtri Prakrit. He came into contact with distinguished scholars such as Ludwig Alsdorf, D. Schlingloff, K. Bruhn and others.

During his stay in Europe he was invited to deliver lectures in the Department of Indology, South Asian Institute, Heidelberg; Orientalistic Seminar, University of Freiburg; Institute of Oriental Languages, Department of Indology, Stockholm University, Sweden; the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. He also attended the International Congress of Orientalists held in Paris. He returned to India in 1974 and was occupied in writing books, attending seminars and delivering lectures in universities and educational institutions. In 1976 was published his *Gift of Love and Other Ancient Jain Tales about Women*. His *magnum opus* which he did while he was at the University of Keil, *The Vasudevahiṇḍī—an Authentic Jain Version of the Bṛhatkathā* came out in 1977.

Prof. Jain made a trip to Sao Paulo in Brazil in 1980 where he delivered lectures on Indian philosophy under the auspices of Associacao Palas Athena do Brasil. There he also conducted classes to teach Sanskrit and Indian philosophy. From Brazil he went to U.S.A. where he delivered lectures in the University of California, Berkeley, University of Wisconsin, Madison, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor and also in New York and Toronto, the University of British Columbia, Vancouver (Canada), the Department of Indology, El Salvador University and in Buenes Aires (Argentina). He came back to India in 1982 and was again occupied in writing books, delivering lectures and attending seminars. In 1981 was published his *Prakrit Narrative Literature* which was sponsored by the Indian Council of Social Science Research. He also received a grant from the University Grants Commission under the scheme of utilising the services of retired teachers. During his stay at Brazil he published in 1982 *Jainismo Vide e Obra de Mahāvīra Vardhamān* in Portuguese. In 1983 he delivered Sri Rajkrishna Jain Memorial Lectures at Delhi on various forms of Prakrit narrative literature in Hindi. In 1984 was published his *Seven Pearls of Wisdom* which was followed in 1985 by the revised version of his *Prakrit Sāhitya Ka Itihās* for which he was awarded by the Government of Uttar Pradesh.

In 1988 Prof. Jain delivered a series of lectures in the Dharwad University, Karnataka. Another great work of his *History and Development of Prakrit Literature* containing 700 pages is now in the press. Even in 1991 his two works have been published, namely the *Jain Way of Life* and *Studies in Early Jainism*. He received the Prakrit Jñānabhārati award from Bangalore in 1990 and the Ahiṃsā International Deputymal Jain Memorial Award from Delhi in 1991. He has been a member of many academic bodies and faculties of various

universities of India as is very natural for a man of his rank, status and learning. But it is more interesting to find him acting as the president of the Indian Peoples' Theatre Association of Bombay or as a member of Film Censor Board, Government of India.

At the age of 83 Prof. Jagdish Chandra Jain is still young and active. Apart from his academic activities, he performs the domestic chores himself. He walks every morning and evening to keep fit. His way of living is very simple and disciplined. But there is one more factor which is more responsible for his keeping fit and active, physically, mentally and intellectually. This is his basic philosophical approach to life. All through his life he has wanted to be the ideal man—the concept of which is defined in the *Bhagavadgītā*—one who is not jubilant in happiness or upset in sorrow. He takes everything easily, even painful things as inevitable realities. All through his chequered career he has never lost his balance. As a scholar his greatness is acknowledged by all, but as a man he is still greater.

List of Books and Articles by Prof. Jagdish Chandra Jain

1. *Syādvādamañjarī by Mallisena* (dealing with six systems of Indian Philosophy from the Jain point of view) with introduction, Hindi translation and several appendices (1936, thoroughly revised in later editions).
2. *Jambusvāmicarita* (in Sanskrit), edited from manuscript (1936).
3. *Shrimad Rājacandra* (letters written by Rāyacanda Bhāi to his devotees), translated from Gujarati to Hindi with exhaustive introduction and appendices (1937).
4. *Mahāvira Vardhamāna* (in Hindi; 1946; 1953; also in Gujarati; later published under the title of *Bhagwan Mahāvira* in 1977 and later editions).
    i. Kannada version (1935)
    ii. Oriya version (1984)
    iii. Gujarati version will soon be out.
5. *Do Hazār Baras Purāṇī Kahāniyān* (in Hindi; 1946, 1965).
6. *Life in Ancient India as Depicted in the Jain Canons* (1947; later under the title *Life in Ancient India as Depicted in the Jaina Canon and Commentaries* (revised 1984).
7. *Prācīn Bhārat ki Kahāniyān* (translated from Pali into Hindi) 1948; revised under the title *Prācīn Bhārat Ki Śreṣṭha Kahāniyān* (1970).
8. *Sampradāyavāda* (in Hindi) 1950.
9. *Bhārat ke Prācīn Jain Tīrtha* (in Hindi) 1952.
10. *Bhāratīya Tattvacintana* (in Hindi; A Survey of Indian Philosophical Thoughts; 1955; revised under the title *Bhāratīya Darśan—Ek Nai Driṣṭi* (1985).
11. *Amidst the Chinese People* (describing the life of the Chinese people during the author's stay in that country) 1955.
12. *Hamārī Kahāniyān* (in Hindi): i. from the *Jātakas*, ii. from *Hitopadeśa*, iii. from *Pañcatantra*; 1957, 1958 and 1967 respectively.

13. *Patha kā Prabhāva* (in Hindi), translated from *Tao te Ching* (in English), 1973.
14. *Prakrit Sāhitya kā Itihās* (in Hindi; award winner) 1961; revised (1985).
15. *Dekhā-Parkhā* (in Hindi) short essays, 1958.
16. *Prākrit Pushkarinī* (Collection of Prakrit *gāthās* from the works of Sanskrit rhetoricians) with Hindi introduction and translation, 1961.
17. *Ramaṇī ke roop* (Hindi translation of women stories from Prakrit, 1961; revised under the title of *Nārī ke Vividh roop*, 1978.
18. *Licchaviyon ke Añcal mein* (in Hindi)—reminiscences of North Bihar during the author's stay there in 1952 (1961).
19. *I could not Save Bapu* (first hand knowledge of the murder of Mahatma Gandhi as a witness in the Gandhi Murder Trial); the same under the title '*Murder of Mahatma Gandhi*' (1961); the same under the title '*Gandhi—the Forgotten Mahatma*' (1987).
20. *Viśva Sāhitya ke Jyotipuñj* (in Hindi) 1962; under the title *Vishva-Sāhitya ki Jhānkiyān* (1987): life-sketches of literary men of the world.
21. *Bhārat ka Sīmānta* (The Border of India) in Hindi, 1963.
22. *Jain Āgama Sāhitya men Bhāratiya Samāj* (Life in Jain canonical literature, in Hindi), 1965.
23. *Vividha Vārtā* (Collection of Radio talks and other essays; in Hindi, 1965.
24. *Jain Sāhitya ka Brihad Itihāsa* (Part II), in Hindi, 1966.
25. *Soviet Roos: Pitā ke Patron men* (in Hindi)—Soviet Land Nehru Award winner, 1966.
26. *Pāścātya Samikshā Darśan* (Western Literary Criticism; in Hindi, 1969; 1973.
27. *Prakrit Jain Kathā Sāhitya* (Jain Narrative Literature): lectures delivered at the L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, (in Hindi) 1971.
28. *Jainism—A Slide Lecture* (with 25 slides), 1972.
29. *Gift of Love and other Ancient Jain Tales about Women*, (With Margaret Walter), 1976; enlarged edition under the title *Women in Ancient Indian Tales*, 1986.
30. *The Vasudevahiṇḍi—An Authentic Jain Version of the Brihatkathā*, 1977.
31. *Janismo, vida e obra de Mahāvīra Vardhamāna* (The Life and Works of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra; in Portuguese), 1982.

32. *Prakrit Narrative Literature—Origin and Growth*—sponsored by Indian Council of Social Science of Research, Delhi, 1981.
33. *Seven Pearls of Wisdom* (a collection of seven stories of wisdom), 1984.
34. *Jain Kathā Sāhitya—Vividh Roopon men* (Jain Narrative Literature in their Various Forms; in Hindi): Lectures delivered under the auspices of the Rajkrishna Jain Charitable Trust, Delhi (still to be published).
35. *The Jain Way of Life*, 1991.
36. *Studies in Early Jainism* (Collection of Research articles), 1991; edited by Dr. N.N. Bhattacharya, Dept. of Ancient Indian History & Culture, University of Calcutta, 1991.
37. Lectures delivered at the Karnataka University, Dharwad and an article on Status of Women in Jain Literature (will soon be published).
38. *The Buddha-The Light of Asia* (will soon be published).
39. *History and Development of Prakrit Literature* (in press).

Besides, he has written story books, school textbooks and Readers under the titles *Nai Hindustani*, *Saral Hindi Pāṭhamālā*, *Subodh Hindi Pāṭhamālā* and *Saral Kahāniyān* which were prescribed as textbooks by the Government of Maharashtra and other States.

LIST OF ARTICLES OF PROF JAIN IN ENGLISH

1. 'The Importance of Prakrit Literature with Reference to the Spread of Jain Religion in its Early Stage during the Early Centuries', *Journal of the University of Bombay*, 1969.
2. 'The Importance of Vasudevahiṇḍi: Lecture delivered in the South- East Institute of University of Heidelberg, Department of Indology, 1973. Published in *Wiener Zeitschrift Für Die Kunde Südasiens*, 1975.
3. 'Is Vasudevahiṇḍi a Jain Version of the Bṛihatkathā?, paper read at the 29th International Congress of Orientalists, Paris, 1973. Published in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. XXIII, Sept.-Dec., 1973.

4. 'Stories of Trading Merchants and Vasudevahiṇḍi': Lecture delivered at the Department of Orientalistic Seminar, University of Freiburg, 1973. Published in the *Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. LV, Poona, 1974.
5. 'Vidyādharas in the Vasudevahiṇḍi': Published in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. XXIV, Sept.-Dec., 1974.
6. 'An Old Version of the Jaina Rāmāyaṇa': Paper read at the Conference held by the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, to celebrate the Quatercentenary of Tulsi Das's *Ramacaritamānasa*. Published in *Sambodhi*, Vol. IV, Ahmedabad, 1975-76.
7. 'Trade and Commerce in Ancient India (from Jain Sources)': Lecture delivered at the Vikrama University, Ujjain. Published in the *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Vol. XVII, 1977-78.
8. The Missing Lambhas in the Vasudevahiṇḍi and the story of Pabhāvatī: Based on the unpublished manuscript of Majjhimakhaṇḍa of Dharmadāsagaṇi Mahattara. Published in *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 17 (1975), Dordecht-Holland.
9. 'Magical Spells in Prakrit Jain Literature': Paper read at the International Seminar in Folk Culture held in Cuttack (Orissa), 1978.
10. 'Some Old Tales and Episodes in the Vasudevahiṇḍi': Published in the *Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. IX, Poona, 1979.
11. 'Early Jainism': Lecture delivered at a Seminar, held in Mahavira Chair for Jain Studies, Panjabi University, Patiala, 1979.
12. 'Some Popular Old Tales and World Literature': Published in *Glory of India*, September, 1979.
13. 'Disposal of the Dead in the Bhagavatī Arādhanā': Paper read at a Seminar held under the auspices of Mahavira Chair for Jaina Studies, Panjabi University, Patiala, 1979. Published in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. 38, Sept.-Dec., 1988.
14. The Adaptation of Viṣṇu-Bali Legend by Jain Writers: Paper read at the Symposium held under the auspices of the Department of Sanskrit, University of Udaipur, 1976. Published in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. XXIX, March-June, 1980.

15. 'Animal Tales in Jain Narrative Literature': To be published in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
16. 'The Origin and Growth of Prakrit Jain Narrative Literature': Published in the *Vaishali Research Bulletin*, No. 8, 1981.
17. 'Folk Tales in Prakrit Literature, Sanskrit and World Culture', Berlin, 1986.
18. 'Two Great Religions of Magadha': Published in the *Kashyapa Commemoration Volume*, Nalanda, 1986.
19. 'The Role of Dharanendra in Jain Mythology': Paper submitted to the All-India Oriental Conference, held in the University of Rajasthan, Jaipur, October, 1982: Published in its proceedings.
20. 'Prakrit in the Background of Hindi': Paper read at the National Prakrit Conference Seminar, Bangalore, 1988.
21. 'School of Sarvāstivāda based on Jain Sources': Paper read at a Seminar held under the auspices of Department of Buddhist Studies in the University of Delhi, 1986.
22. 'The Science of Prognostication: Nimitta-śāstra': Paper read at a Seminar held under the auspices of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Banaras Hindu University. Published in *Bhāratī, Bulletin of Indology*, No. 17, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, 1987-88.
23. 'Position and Status of Women in Jain Literature': Paper read at a Seminar held under the auspices of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, 1988. Published in *Position and Status of Women in Ancient India*, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi.
24. 'Jain Worship: A Critical View': Paper read at a Seminar on Dharmaśāstra under the auspices of the M.M. Dr. P.V. Kane Oriental Research Institute, Asiatic Society of Bombay, 1989.
25. 'Sati in Ancient India (with reference to Jain Literature)': Paper read at a Seminar held under the auspices of the Department of Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, 1989.
26. Memorable Pilgrimage by Hiuen Tsang—A Chinese Traveller, 1989.
27. The Scope of Research in Jain Studies, 1974.
28. 'The Medieval Bhakti Movement: Its Influence on Jainism': Incorporated in *Medieval Bhakti Movement in India: Sri*

Caitanya Quincentenary Commemoration Volume, New Delhi, 1989.

29. 'Socio-Religious Influence of Early Jainism in its Origin and Growth': Paper submitted to the VIII World Sanskrit Conference held in Vienna, Austria, 1990.
30. 'Jain Contribution to Indian Story Literature': Paper read in a Seminar, held under the auspices of the M.M. Dr. P.V. Kane Oriental Research Institute, Asiatic Society, Bombay, 1990. To be published in the *Annanls of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona.

Besides, he has contributed numerous articles in outstanding Hindi magazines and journals.

Dr. Jagdish Chandra Jain: A Profile

Vilas Sangave

It is indeed a matter of profound satisfaction to note the steady and continuous rise of Prof. Dr. Jagdish Chandra Jain as an eminent Oriental scholar of high international reputation and a renowned author of rare distinction in the traditionally important but virtually neglected fields of scientific study in Prakrit Literature and Jainology. This rise to an eminent position in Prakrit studies was accomplished by Dr. Jagdish Chandra Jain, in a meticulously planned way, by sheer dint of merit and by strenuous and continuous efforts made for a long span of 60 years since the commencement of his academic career in 1932 as a research scholar in Jainism at the Shantiniketan University founded by the great poet Dr. Rabindranath Tagore for the revival of Indian culture. It is really noteworthy to find that he could embark on this cherished research and academic career immediately after securing in 1932 the M.A. Degree in Philosophy from the Banaras Hindu University, for which he had already prepared a solid base by acquiring the Degree of 'Shastri' in Sanskrit in 1925 by completing his learning in Sanskrit at Varanasi in a traditional way. Later on the strength of his deep studies in the ancient and vast Jain canonical literature written in Prakrit, Jagdish Chandra Jain succeeded in getting the most coveted Degree of Ph.D. in Sociology of the University of Bombay in 1945 by writing a remarkable thesis on "Life in Ancient India as Depicted in Jain Canons". I had the pleasure of knowing Dr. Jagdish Chandra intimately from that time as we both carried out our research in the University of Bombay for Ph.D. under the guidance of Dr. G.S. Ghurye, the father of sociology in India. In addition, I was immensely benefited by the voluminous and valuable information systematically presented by Dr. Jagdish Chandra in his thesis and I made use of it to a great extent in my work on "Jaina Community: A Social Survey" for which I was awarded Ph.D. in Sociology in 1950 by the University of Bombay. I am happy that these cordial and co-operative relations have withstood

the test of time and have continued even to the present day.

Dr. Jagdish Chandra Jain has to his credit the most wide and varied experience as an eminent professor and research guide. He joined the well known Ramnarain Ruia College in Bombay in 1938 and worked there as Professor in Hindi till his retirement in 1968. In addition, he was also invited to work as a research guide for Ph.D. in Prakrit and Jainology in the Research Institute of Prakrit, Jainology and Ahiṃsā, Vaishali of the Government of Bihar. Again he had the privilege of teaching Hindi in the University of Peking, China, in 1952. Moreover, after retirement he completed the prestigious assignment of working as Research Professor in the Department of Indology, University of Kiel, in West Germany from 1970 to 1974. Furthermore, he had the rare opportunities of delivering special lectures on significant aspects of Ancient Indian History and Culture and Jainology in various universities and research centres in India and foreign countries.

Apart from his meritorious work as Professor and research guide in Prakrit and Jain Studies, Dr. Jagdish Chandra Jain has made his mark as a prolific and outstanding author. It is quite admirable to find that he has to his credit more than seventy research books and nearly hundred research papers written in English and Hindi on the subjects of his specialisation like Prakrit and Hindi literature, Jain Studies, ancient Indian culture and Indian philosophy. It is also noteworthy that this exacting work of writing is still going on with the same vigour and zeal and that these research publications have made distinctive contributions mainly to Prakrit literature and Jain culture. Among such renowned works mention must be made of the following books:

(i) *Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jain Canon and Commentaries* (1947 and rev. ed. 1984).
(ii) *The Vasudevahiṇḍi—An Authentic Jain Version of the Bṛihatkathā* (1977).
(iii) *History of Prakrit Literature* (Hindi) (2nd ed. 1985).
(iv) *Prakrit Narrative Literature* (1981).
(v) *Jainismo* (in Portuguese) (1982).
(vi) *Bhagwan Mahavir* (in English, Hindi, Oriya, Kannada).
(vii) *The Jain Way of Life* (1991).

Some of his books have been prescribed for detailed studies in various Indian universities and his book in Hindi entitled "Prakrit Sahitya Ka Itihas" received an award from the Government of Uttar Pradesh in

1985.

Similarly it is heartening to find that Dr. Jagdish Chandra Jain had the honour to present a number of research papers personally at various prestigious national and international conferences and at special seminars organised by renowned research institutes. These papers were acclaimed for the new information, sources and viewpoints presented therein. Some of, his selected research papers have been published in a book entitled "*Studies in Early Jainism*".

Again, it is a matter of pride to record that in recognition of his voluminous and significant contributions to Prakrit literature and Jain Studies, Dr. Jain was recently honoured by the grant of Prakrit Jñānabhāratī Award at Bangalore in 1990 and Ahiṃsā International Deputymal Jain Memorial Award at New Delhi in 1991. Earlier he had the distinction to receive the well-known 'Soviet Land Nehru Award' in 1966 for his outstanding work in creating, through his writings in Hindi, proper understanding between Indian and Russian people in various aspects of life.

Further, it is worth mentioning that Dr. Jain has got a rich variegated personality, intensely national outlook, and abiding interest in dramatics. That is why as a freedom fighter he participated in full measure in the Indian national struggles and freedom movements of 1930 and 1942. Strangely enough Dr. Jain had a first-hand knowledge of the plot to assassinate Mahatma Gandhi and he did pass that information on to proper authorities. In view of this, he was called as a witness in the famous Gandhi Murder Trial. On the basis of these events Dr. Jagdish Chandra first published the book entitled *I Could Not Save Bapu* and later published its further editions under the titles "Murder of Mahatma Gandhi" in 1961 and "Gandhi—the Forgotten Mahatma" in 1987.

Moreover, Dr. Jagdish Chandra did show a keen interest formerly in cultural activities pertaining to film and drama. As such for some time he worked as the President of Indian People's Theatre, Bombay and a member of the Film Censor Board of the Government of India. Furthermore, Dr. Jain has been deeply involved in contribution in a practical way to the development of children's literature. Consequently he wrote a number of story books, school text-books and readers under the titles *Nai Hindustani*, *Saral Hindi Pathmala*, *Subodh Hindi Pathmala* and *Saral Kahaniyan* which were prescribed as textbooks by Maharashtra and other states in India.

In this way Dr. Jagdish Chandra Jain has lived a fruitful life and has made a tremendous impact on the progress of Prakrit and Jain

Studies in India. He did so not only by writing scholarly treatises of a lasting value on these and other allied subjects for a continuous period of more than half a century but also by invariably participating in a meaningful way in all kinds of academic seminars, discussions, conferences, etc. organised in different parts of India by universities, research centres, social bodies and educational institutes. On all these occasions he has always been a major attraction and a source of inspiration to the younger generation of teachers and research scholars. His amiable presence, encouraging participation and forceful presentation and candid expression of his viewpoints and opinions have considerably influenced the minds and approaches of the participants and have fruitfully shaped their future careers in research work in Prakrit and Jain Studies. In fact, to talk to him is a pleasure and to be in his company in itself an education. It is, therefore, fervently hoped that this benign influence of Dr. Jagdish Chandra Jain will continue to give encouragement in the same effective way for many more years to come for the successful prosecution of further studies and advanced research in Prakrit literature, Indian culture and various fields of Jainology.

Reminiscences of Professor J.C. Jain's Time as a Research Scholar in Germany: From *alu ke paranthe* to Jaina Law

Werner F. Menski

The slightly autobiographical tone of this brief contribution to the J.C. Jain Felicitation Volume will, I hope, not be seen as inappropriate, for at a very early and decisive stage of my academic career Professor J.C. Jain's scholarly and personal influence with a socio-cultural orientation, ultimately took me to a post in charge of Indian legal studies at SOAS in London. I simply find it impossible to separate writing about Professor J.C. Jain and his wife without making references to myself. The reminiscences of our time in Kiel are prefaced by some comments on the position of Indology in German universities and the importance of encouraging scholarly interaction and visits between India and Europe; they may have many more tangible benefits than funding bodies are commonly willing to realise. It is no coincidence, perhaps, that I am currently experiencing a similar positive feedback in London, where legal scholars from all over the subcontinent have begun to find a congenial meeting place, now with important implications for my own students.

In the present case at least, as I shall illustrate, the spin-off from the scholarly engagement of a senior Indian academic at a German University, itself unexpected and "a miracle", as Professor Jain has noted on the first page of the foreword to his book on the *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, which was largely written during his stay in Germany, has led to consequences for several individuals which could not have been anticipated at the time. For, who would have known, in 1973, that the somewhat odd but subtle combination of tough language drills, gentle introduction to real conversation in Hindi, and a tasty, healthy diet of fresh and pure *alu ke paranthe* would vitally contribute to an academic career in the field of Indian laws, starting from Jaina foundations?

Indology at German Universities

It is a well-known fact that most German universities have small, but often highly effective Departments of Oriental Studies in which the scholarly treatment of many fields and subjects has a long-standing and often famous tradition. Relating to India, outsiders are often astonished to hear that there were more than twenty chairs of Indology at German universities even before reunification and that several Indian languages, but in particular Sanskrit and Hindi, are regularly taught at university level all over Germany.

The position of Indological centres of study at German universities may at times have been threatened and undermined by bureaucratic shortsightedness, the famous red pen of the penny-pinching administrator who considers his own job more important than that of scholars of excellence or promising 'young blood', or those who argue in favour of abolishing or streamlining what in Germany is often called 'Kleine Faecher', minority academic subjects that seem of little relevance to an economically-biased cost-benefit analyst.

But German Indology, probably as much for reasons of romantic traditionalism and idealism as due to concerns of more immediate relevance, especially in the wider context of Third World Development and trade, has survived all these attacks and is going strong. For example, a number of important appointments to chairs have been made in the recent past and others are to follow. Further, the existing South Asia Institute in Heidelberg, Germany's major centre for modern Indian Studies, has recently been given a local competitor in the new University of Bamberg, which has just finalised a key appointment to promote the study of modern Indian culture there, to be led by Professor Monika Thiel-Horstmann. Though some traditional Indologists dispute this vigorously, there is much evidence that the combination of offerings in classical and modern Indian studies is probably the most effective strategy of offering insights for India-related work to a maximum number of people.

The German university system itself seems to have provided an important support mechanism for the developments of Indian studies at German universities. Students have traditionally enjoyed a wide choice of courses and degree combinations, a situation which has been encouraging interdisciplinary studies. For students engaged in an M.A. or Ph.D. course, the requirement to have not only a major subject, but also to study two minors brings a continuous, if small, stream of

interested young people to the teaching rooms of German Indologists and other experts in smaller subjects.

Many of the young people that one thus encounters may have only a peripheral interest in learning Sanskrit in all its detail, but all of them will want to know much about Indian culture. Some in fact, will only be interested in certain aspects of it, often yoga and philosophy. Others may wish to acquire a spoken Indian language as a marketable asset in terms of career planning. What is actually offered within the study programme depends, to a large extent, on the specialisation of the Indological teachers in a particular university, tough many Indologists will make attempts to provide, over a span of several years, a broad-based and round education in the field of Indian studies.

Now, while some Indologists tend to look down on students who are not really interested in Sanskrit, dismissing them as uninteresting, flat or even a waste of time, many will take great care to nurture in such young students the often latent interest in various topics of Indian culture and will make attempts, admittedly not always successful, at bringing closer to such a heterogenous audience or seminar group the intricacies of Indian religions and philosophies or other aspects of culture. Others will attempt nurture on the language side, gently leading students through the details of linguistic analysis that have to be rehearsed and repeated *mantra*-like, and for many years, before any thought of 'competence' may satisfyingly come into play. Indology may be a 'little subject', but is certainly not a soft option.

However, the majority of German students of Indology are probably 'lost' on the way and will not actually proceed to an exam. One should not hastily see this as wasted efforts: the positive repercussions of even a brief exposure to Indian studies can be many, though they can hardly be measured. I had co-students of Sanskrit who have become teachers of all kinds of subjects other than Indian studies, a Protestant pastor, missionaries, astronomists and mathematicians. More or less invisibly, they all remain linked to the Indian cosmos and they all contribute to the remarkably high level of public interest in anything South Asian among Germans.

In their endeavour to impart knowledge about India, European Indologists are from time to time, but far too little in my view, supported by Indian academics. The benefits of academic exchange *per se* apart, we are aware of the scholar's delight to be able to work on a research project with material that was not previously accessible. Confirmation of this is found in an account that Professor J.C. Jain himself wrote about his time in Kiel.[1] But who spares thought for the

humble students and the manifold benefits that may accrue to them through close interaction with visiting scholars from the subcontinent?

Meeting Professor Jain at Kiel University

It was in one of the smaller German institutions dedicated to the study of Indology, the Department of Indology at the Christian-Albrechts University of Kiel in what was then West Germany that I first came across Professor J.C. Jain in September 1973. Professor Jain had been in Kiel since October 1970, was at that time in the final year of his prolonged research project on the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* and had one more academic year to spend at Kiel University. He has told us in detail how his stay in Kiel was made possible by Professor Schlingloff and how he got down to work on his project.[2]

I cannot recall our very first meeting; it was probably too overwhelming. But I remember that it came as a surprise to me to find a senior Indian professor in the very same University building that I thought I knew so well since becoming a student of Geography and English at Kiel in October 1970. It must be seen as further testimony of the hard work and dedication shown by Professor Jain, who would be busy in his study or the library all day and was, thus, rather invisible.

My aim was to study as much as possible about India and it was a fairly simply request that was put to Professor Jain. During a year abroad in 1972-3, spent in the city of Leicester in Britain as an assistant teacher of German, I had met several Indian students and many 'Asian' refugees from Uganda. Through some of them, I had become initiated to Indian culture; in particular, a group of Gujarati Muslim students taught me the basics of their language and whetted the appetite for more knowledge.

So in my ignorance of the whole ambit of Indological studies I must have requested Professor Jain to teach me Gujarati, to which he replied that this would be of limited use and that I had better study Hindi. This message by Professor Dr. J.F. Sprockhoff, then Reader in Indology and Head of Department, who had made it quite clear to me that a serious study of Indian culture would involve studying many semesters of Sanskrit and had advised that I could and should also take Hindi, provided Professor Jain agreed to teach me, since he was obviously very busy with his research work.

My request to this senior scholar to spend some of his precious time on teaching a more or less total beginner the basics of Hindi was received in a spirit of generosity characteristic of Professor Jain. He al-

ready had one student of Hindi who had completed the first semester. I was told, quite firmly, that if I felt able to catch up with this student, I would be taught together with him.

Learning Hindi from the Master

Full of enthusiasm, and not knowing what this agreement really involved, I found the condition made by Professor Jain quite agreeable and very soon received the first catching up classes and a small pile of Hindi tapes to be used in the language laboratory. These tapes had been produced by Professor Jain and his daughter Kalpana several years before and came with a set of print-outs in Devanagari. They contained simple drills, such as '*yah kya hai? Yah Kursi hai*'. Sentences were made increasingly complex as you progressed through the pile of tapes. This whole package became a most cherished resource that I later used in my own teaching of Hindi, both in Kiel and at Bochum University, before I reached my present incarnation. In essence, Professor Jain's method of teaching Hindi was so effective that within weeks he had brought me to the second semester level; from thereon Hindi was never a difficult subject and my energies were freed to be devoted to the study of Sanskrit under the guidance of Professor Sprockhoff.

In our Hindi classes, we worked later, and for a long time, with an excellent textbook, devised and published by a Czech friend of Professor Jain, a book that is far too little known and now probably out of print.[3] Our lessons soon became multilingual: while we would, obviously, ignore the Czech texts in Porizka's book, the Devanagari and its transliteration (which was helpfully provided in the early lessons) went well together, and I studied my Hindi in English rather than in German. We soon found complex communication in English easier than in German, though Professor Jain knew a fair amount of German; but sooner rather than later we switched over to conversation in Hindi. It actually worked and became quite a delightful in challenging experience for me.

Hindi as the Language of the Home

This speedy exposure to spoken Hindi of the less stilted variety was immeasurably enhanced by conversation at the dinner table. My car became Professor Jain's taxi home; it was inevitable that visits to his home became more frequent. There, his devoted wife prepared tasty food for us, taught me how to eat properly and how to talk about Indian food

and many other subjects. In this way, Professor Jain very soon became Babuji; there was never any question that Ba was anybody else than Ba. Her delicious *alu ke paraunthe* and, of course, many other preparations were a memorable experience for a young German who had never been to India. Ba contributed much to making me a confident speaker of Hindi and taught me a lot about Jain culture that one could not possibly get from classroom exposure. If some people today wonder how this *jarman admi* learnt to speak and behave like a *hindustani*, Ba-Babuji know how it happened and how large a role they played in this process.

They also saw with pleasure how other members of their family, and friends like the unforgettable Margy[4] participated in this fruitful interaction, which was often continued beyond the home of the Jains. I remember, in particular, sitting in the student refectory of Kiel University talking to a young relative recently arrived from India; while I spoke to him in simple German, which he was trying to study, he answered me in Hindi, with people sitting next to us wondering how on earth we understood each other and were enjoying the conversation, too.

Lectures on Jainism

In more formal classroom situations, too, the strategy of total immersion in the target culture, to use modern jargon, was practised assiduously. During his last semester at Kiel, in the summer of 1974, Professor Jain gave a very extensive series of lectures on Jainism to teach all of us about the history and traditions of that great religion. In our enthusiasm, we taped those lectures and transcribed them with a view to later publication, but other duties appear to have kept both of us away from this task. To this day, though, these lectures have served as a good and useful source of reference for me; the thought of editing them has not been totally abandoned, especially since in the meantime Jaina studies have been revived in Europe due to the presence of many Jainas in Britain and other countries and there is clearly an urgent need for more introductory material on Jaina traditions. While it would be an exaggeration to say that I was trained in Jain law at that time, the roots for understanding Indian laws and their relationship to religion and other spheres of life were laid by those lectures and the accompanying reading and discussions with my learned guide.

Hindi Dictionary

Another project of scholarly work was simply aborted and ultimately abandoned. In retrospect, we were innocently optimistic and quite unrealistic about the implications of the project and its completion. The issue arose because, while Professor Jain was working in Kiel, the first ever Hindi-German dictionary appeared.[5] I was persuaded to start preparations for a German-Hindi dictionary. This tedious endeavour was, indeed, pursued for a long time, but collapsed as a project when we realised that a number of other dictionaries were in fact in preparation and were to appear in print shortly afterwards.[6]

In retrospect, I am convinced that the combined strategy of acquiring language skills and cultural insight through first-hand experience, as provided by Professor Jain and his family, was the decisive factor in directing me towards my present career. All this was indeed a miraculous and entirely unplanned by-product of the prolonged visit of an Indian academic to a German university. In several ways, Babuji became a role model, especially in teaching me the importance of language skills as a tool for socio-cultural work such as is found in his well-known book of Jaina culture[7] and his more recent work on the Jaina way of life.[8]

Reunion in India

After Ba-Babuji left Kiel to return to Bombay, we kept in touch by writing letters, mainly in Hindi, of course. When I finally came to India in early 1979, Babuji was on Bombay airport to receive me and whisk me away to a joyful reunion with BA at Shivaji Park. I found both of them as active as ever, Babuji sitting in his study busily engaged in a variety of projects and correspondence all over the world. Like by remote control, he had been monitoring and guiding my progress all these years, and Ba-Babuji again became the trusted guides whom I could turn to for anything, including the most important decisions in life. Later visits have continued to show an alert and productive Professor Jain, whose study is still the rival of Ba's kitchen as the focal point of the house. While Ba, remembering the cold German winters and conscious of the Jaina way of life, has long argued against foreign travel, Babuji likes to tease her by making plans for overseas engagements. May be there are other miracles to follow. May both of them be blessed with continuing vitality and good health!

NOTES

1. It is found in the Foreword to the important work that he completed in his time in Kiel. See: Jain, J.C.: *The Vasudevahiṇḍi. An authentic Jain version of the Bṛhatkathā*. Ahmedabad: L.D. Institute of Indology 1977, pp. 1-11.
2. For a fairly detailed and very personal account of Professor Jain's time in Kiel see his Foreword to ibid., esp. pp. 1-6.
3. Porizka, Vincenc: *Hindi Language Course*. Part I. Prague: Statni pedagogicke nakladatelstvi 1972.
4. See Jain, as note 1, pp. 4-5. The resulting publication in Jain, J.C. and Margaret Walter: *The Gift of Love and Other Ancient Indian Tales about Women*, Delhi et al. : Vikas 1976.
5. Klemm, Erika: *Hindi-Deutsches Woerterbuch*. Leipzig: VEB Verlag Enzyklopaedie 1971.
6. See Gatzlaff-Haelsig, Margot: *Woerterbuch Deutsch-Hindi*. Leipzig: VEB Verlag Enzyklopaedie 1977; Sharma, Krishna M.: *Jarman Hindi Kosh. Deutsch-Hindi Woerterbuch*. Delhi: Rachna Publishing House, 1978.
7. Jain, J.C.: *Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jain Canons*, Bombay: 1947, now in 2nd edition.
8. Jain, J.C.: *The Jaina Way of Life*, Gurgaon 1991.

Fulfilling and Fruitful Years

Chakresh Jain

It has taken over eight event-filled decades for the full unfolding of the multifaceted personality of Ba'uji (all of us children call our father, Dr. Jagdishchandra Jain, Ba'uji or Babuji in reverence).

In this, the last decade of our century, modern metaphors must be used to describe Ba'uji's meteoric life and sustained energy and dedication. The launching pad for this voyager spaceship was the little village of Basera (district Muzaffarnagar, western Uttar Pradesh). It has brought into our ken new worlds and enriched the universe of knowledge.

Association with two of India's greatest sons—Mahatma Gandhi and Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore helped to implant in Ba'uji the "micro-chip" or lifelong energy-giving philosophy of work, dedication and fitness.

From active and passionate participation in Gandhiji's and Gurudev's political and cultural movements, the scholarship and pedagogy of Ba'uji now enters the season of Himalayan mists and mellow fruitfulness.

I vividly recall the "Open House" which Ba'uji maintained with expected and often unexpected and distinguished visitors streaming through our modest home in Bombay. The wide spectrum included eminent scholars, litterateurs, revolutionaries, poets and Urdu *shairs*, politicians and social workers of all hues. The frequent *Sāhitya Goshṭi*, the often heated, but always lively, debates on a variety of topics including etymology and philology, *Sangeet Mehfils*. Ba'uji's love for Rabindra-*sangeet* often meant he would play the harmonium and sing us soulfully some inspiring songs. Later, his link with the Hindi theatre through the Indian People's Theatre Association (IPTA) of which he was the president gave us children a unique chance of hearing and seeing some well-known artistes and playwrights.

Among those dropping in were Dr. Rahul Sankrityayana, the internationally renowned traveller and scholar, Dr. T.K. Tope, former Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, Pandit Hazariprasad

Dwivedi, Pandit Sunderlal, Mahatma Bhagwandin, Harivansh Rai Bachchan, Sumitranandan Pant, N.R. Phatak, Kaifi Azmi, Balraj Sahni, Hangal and many others.

Small wonder, then, that our home atmosphere has always been liberal and progressive. Ba'uji has all along been a man way ahead of his times, encouraging, persuading, cajoling his four sons and four daughters to think, to develop their own personalities. He gave all of us every opportunity for higher education and a smooth entry into life.

Ba'uji was born in a middle-class family in Basera village where he attended the village school. He lost his father when barely three and his elder brother thought that Ba'uji could perhaps become an accountant (*muneem*) somewhere. Later he was sent to traditional Sanskrit *pāṭhshalas* and *gurukuls*, where he leant his Sanskrit and acquired the punctual regimen of habits.

The reason I mention this in detail is because when he came to Bombay to seek his fortunes, he insisted that all his children attend convent schools and learn modern pedagogy as well. But for him the ascent—from a non-entity based in a far-flung village to an internationally renowned scholar—was long and arduous, with numerous winding paths. Talking to us he would travel back in time and space to talk about his own struggles, trials and tribulations.

He immersed himself in the Mahatma's satyāgraha and freedom struggle of the 1930s. Back in Basera, Ba'uji organised local youths, made fiery speeches arousing them against the British atrocities and exhorted them to swell the national movement. It was only because he was able to escape under cover of darkness that the warrant issued for his arrest could not be served!

But keeping his studies on an even keel, Ba'uji obtained his Shastri degree in Sanskrit from Varanasi. He was fortunate to have excellent *gurus* both for Pali (Pandit Vidushekhar Bhattacharya) and for Prakrit (Muni Jinavijaya).

From Gandhiji to Gurudev was the change from the heat and fire of the political sun to the mellow brightness and effulgence of the cultural full moon for Ba'uji. After his M.A. from Banaras Hindu University, he enrolled as a research scholar in Jainism at Santiniketan, where he came in close contact with the Gurudev himself and other personalities including Kshitimohan Sen, under whom he learnt the cadence of Rabindranath's mellifluous Bengali poetry. Ba'uji retains a lifelong impact of the Santiniketan influence whether it be in art, culture, painting, theatre or poetry. Above all, the cultural horizon opened up a new vista of Indian heritage, which some political

priorities had precluded earlier.

It was in the early 1930s that Ba'uji took the major decision to migrate to Bombay and seek his own tryst with destiny. For a while he worked as a journalist on a Gujarati paper, and later taught Hindi at St. Mary's European School. He then joined Bombay's Ramnarain Ruia College, teaching Sanskrit and Ardhamāghdī. It was at this stage he did his doctorate in Sociology under Dr. G.S. Ghurye. Later he headed the Hindi Department of the college and was also appointed as a qualified Ph.D. guide in Hindi.

An interesting episode which enabled Ba'uji to make and cherish the acquaintance with the then Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, is worth recalling. As an acknowledged expert (by now) in Prakrit, he was recommended by the Bihar Public Service Commission to join the Vaishali Prakrit Institute, Bihar. But there was some misgivings in the minds of the administration, and Ba'uji had to suffer. Even the Prime Minister of the time gave him a patient hearing and apologised for the injustice done to him by the Bihar government!

On his return to Bombay, Ba'uji was surprised to get a letter from Pandit Nehru, reiterating the apology. "Such grace! Do today's politicians have any of it?" he remarked in an interview to a Bombay newspaper.

When in the year 1952 the Chinese government invited him to teach Hindi in Peking University's Department of Oriental Languages and Literature, it was the beginning of a new vista where the acknowledged scholar was in demand in the world's prominent academic centres! I was fortunate to accompany Ba'uji to China, where we travelled extensively. Our Indian ambassador in China at that time was Sardar K.M. Panikkar and we came in contact with numerous foreign and Indian luminaries on their sojourn in China—including Frank Moraes, the doyen of Indian journalists (he inspired and encouraged me to become a journalist), Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Acharya Narendra Dev, the well-known Buddhist scholar, and many others.

But before I talk of the fragrance of his fame spreading far and wide in later years, I should like to make a retreat to talk about his experiences when he plunged headlong into the Quit India Movement in 1942. He was detained in the Worli Detention Camp and there he came in contact with some other revolutionaries. This exposed him to the Marxist philosophy of historic determinism which was to influence much of his later life.

Behind the success of every man is a woman, and in Ba'uji's case is "Ba"—my mother Kamalshri. Though born in a prosperous family of

Tissa (Uttar Pradesh), she willingly gave up her luxurious life-style and moulded her own aspirations to follow in my father's footsteps. Indeed, during our Ba'uji's detention, my mother (with her young children) suffered immensely, being miles away from relations and home, in Bombay with Ba'uji away in indefinite detention. The scars of that time are still palpable. But given Ba's sacrificing nature, she has made her husband and the children the focal point of her life.

In the Mahatma Gandhi Murder trial, 1948, Ba'uji was a key witness because he had sought to alert (but in vain) the government of Maharashtra (then Bombay). He risked his own life to save the Mahatma by providing the government with information well in advance about the conspiracy hatched to assassinate Gandhiji. When the government failed to save Gandhiji, he was threatened with dire consequences. But with courage, not only Ba'uji, but my mother fearlessly faced the difficult days!

I also recall the thrill laced with fear one evening when the well-known revolutionary from Bengal, Bhupendra Chakravarti, who had escaped from the Worli Detention Camp, landed in our house through the backdoor!

After the very educative trip to China, it was to the University of Kiel, Department of Indology, that Ba'uji was invited as a research professor. This invitation came soon after his retirement from the Ramnarain Ruia College in 1968. His four-year stint in West Germany enabled him to do much painstaking research and he was invited to universities in many parts of USA, UK, Europe and South America. Often his subjects included a much wider canvas of Indian culture, and his presence was sought at many seminars and symposia because of this eclectic benefit which European scholars felt in receiving a scholar so well steeped in different facets of Indian lore.

It is again a measure of the modern man within the scholar of ancient Indian culture that Ba'uji should have planned a project for German students to learn Hindi through tapes especially designed by him.

Over the years my father, Dr. Jagdishchandra Jain, has authored over 70 publications covering areas in ancient Indian culture and civilisation, philosophy, Hindi literature, Prakrit studies, literary criticism, biographies and even children's literature. For nearly 30 years, a set of Hindi books published by him had been prescribed in schools throughout Maharashtra and other states.

His outstanding works include *Vasudevāhiṇḍi—An Authentic Jain Version of the Bṛhatkathā*; a monumental work entitled *Life in Ancient*

India as depicted in the Jain Canons; *Syādvādmañjarī*—dealing with the six schools of Indian philosophy, translated from Ṣanskrit; *History of Prakrit Literature in Hindi*, (this book won an award from the Uttar Pradesh government); another entitled *Prakrit Narrative Literature–Origin and Growth*, research sponsored by the Indian Council of Social Science Research, Government of India; *A Survey of Western Criticism in Hindi*; in Portugese language, the book *Jainismo*, published from Sao Paulo, Brazil; *History and Development of Prakrit Literature* (in Press); a book on *Subhash Chandra Bose*; *Murder of Mahatma Gandhi* later published as *Gandhi—the Forgotten Mahatma*, and many others.

In his crowded life Ba'uji found time to contribute articles to prestigious publications the world over. Literary and academic honours have been heaped on him from all over, but mention should be made of the University Grants Commission Award; the Soviet Land Nehru Award; and the Ahiṃsā International Deputymal Jain Memorial Award. Both the Sanskrit Bhavan and the Arts Faculty of the B.H.U. have chosen Dr. Jain as an honorary member; while he is also represented in Delhi's Sociological Society; Bihar's Vaishali Prakrit Institute and Bangalore's Gyan Bharti Education Trust.

Perhaps one milestone when the city of Bombay wholeheartedly honoured Ba'uji was on his 60th birthday, when many eminent persons from different walks of life gathered to pay him significant tributes.

The speeches remain fresh in my mind as if they were delivered yesterday! The late Mahamahopadhyaya Datto Vaman Potdar, himself a Sanskrit savant and vice-chancellor of Poona University, saw the kindred spirit of quest and thirst for knowledge in Dr. Jain. The vice-chancellor of the Vikram University, Ujjain, Dr. Shivmangal Singh 'Suman', seeing a fellow-votary of scholarship, compared Dr. Jain to a seedling which had grown into a full-fledged tree bearing delicious fruits of knowledge.

The Blitz editor, Mr. R.K. Karanjia lauded Dr. Jain for his liberal, progressive ideas and praised his book on Gandhi in which he described his efforts to prevent the brutal assassination of the Mahatma, as one of the most important events of the present century. Another well-known editor, playwright and humourist Acharya P.K. Atre emphasised how Dr. Jain had brought the cultural integration of Maharashtra and the Hindi heartland. He wrote an editorial in his newspaper "Maratha" on Dr. Jain.

All of us children (four brothers and four sisters, I being the eldest daughter) have been always encouraged by Ba'uji to study and then lead our own lives.

Ba'uji has always been a strict disciplinarian and a man of principles. His has been a domineering figure in our lives, but the stern taskmaster is more than tempered by his generosity and consideration for others. The number of students assisted by him is legion and he loves to do his good deeds silently.

"Discipline is important for me", says Ba'uji and adds, "that and living frugally. For I want to go on living".

Even in his habit of taking long morning walks, physical exercises and regular habits, Ba'uji adheres strictly to discipline and does not look one bit as old as 82. Age has not withered his appetite for living or passion for work.

"Work is the unfailing recipe for an interesting and full life", he smiles.

For him much is left to be explored, to be achieved. One notices this dynamo of tireless work and indefatigable enthusiasm in only a handful. Even today he is invited to head prestigious research institutions within the country and abroad. But in the evening of his life he is content completing the numerous research projects in hand.

The special features of Ba'uji's personality are his transparent sincerity and an amazing dedication to work. I regard him as an outstanding example of a man who by dint of hard work, determination, grit, patience and perseverance has carved a niche for himself.

Today my mother and father live on their own in their flat in Bombay, a city he made his home many years ago. He keeps abreast of news through newspapers and TV. You can spot him surrounded by his grandchildren and great grandchildren, learning valuable lessons of life—as we did! Or playing with him, or hearing him sing songs or reciting Sanskrit slokas.

His restless soul is always on the go, his indomitable spirit driving him to greater achievements.

More power to him! May he live to see many more fruitful summers!

Excerpts from a Letter of Mulk Raj Anand

Homage to you! On the occasion of the compilation of the Abhinandan Granth!

Such occasions are memorable for recording contributions to thought, if the person celebrated is a scholar.

I found your apperceptions on the life of Gautama Buddha, which you wrote for the Lotus series of books, deeply perceptive. Maybe, your evaluation of the perennial philosophy of this ancient sage reflects your own apprehensions.

Yor seem to be aware of the pain of life, which Gautama was the one of the first human beings to have fastened upon, to remind others that human existence is ephemeral, vanity of power irrelevant as it is often exercised by ruthless men for worldly gain and domination over others ; the piling up of wealth and worldly goods by those who seek money and property to secure themselves by having more than others, to avoid pain of penury is abject before death : and pride in superiority is lowminded exaggeration of one's importance which often covers hollowness!

You seemed to recall in your account of the Buddha, that he considered the opening of Lotuses inside us, to intense awareness as the ultimate point of evolution to enlightenment.

In so far as the sage saw in the illumined will, emerging through active contemplation of the cosmos, in all its variegated phenomena, he recognised in changing reality the eternal flux of the universe. The wave which flows down the river in one moment is followed by another, a different one.

As you, from your inheritance of the Jain-Buddhist collective unconscious, in its nonaggressive sympathies, tried to prevent the murder of Mahatma Gandhi, you seem unlike most scholars, who become detached, to have posed love against hatred in our violence-ridden age.

You will thus remain a memory of one of those few men of learning, who has projected a steadfast faith in the possibility of evolution of human togetherness, in a sufficient number of men and women, who may keep the balance between good and evil.

There has been no Utopia of grace possible in human history. Nor is it likely that men will get together on world scale to curb destructiveness.

And yet some human beings may follow the example of the few, who bore the yoke of pity, in the midst of terror and fratricide—like you!

Let us have your words about those 'importances' which are beyond words—love.

Praṇāmāñjali

S.D. Laddu

Nothing is more to the delight of the colleagues, students and friends of a scholar than to have the fortune of felicitating him with an academic tribute in the form of a volume of studies like the present one. The service that such a volume patently renders is, of course, advancement of researches in the branches of its contributors' interests. But there is a higher cause that it is destined to accomplish, that of providing a robust inspiration by being a beacon light, blazing the paths and guiding the steps of younger scholars in the field, much in the manner of : *Pravartito dīpa iva pradīpāt* (*Raghuvaṃśa* 5.37).

The entire course of life and the verve of the scholarly contributions of Professor Jagdish Chandra Jain, themselves, stand as a living message of honesty of purpose and enthusiastic dedication to the tasks in hand, which together form the essence of his own personality. An offering to the Professor in the shape of the present volume will, I am sure, prove to be richly invigorating to the scholarly fraternity. I pray with many for Professor Jain's health and peaceful long life.

Prof. J.C. Jain

Margaret Walter

Gladly I think back on that time, which began almost 20 years ago. My husband and I had come to Kiel soon after my graduation from Cornell University (USA), where I had majored in Asian Studies and Hindi. A memorable highschool summer as an exchange student in India (with a Bengali family from Calcutta, then living in Madras) had changed my life and interests, and I was hoping to go back to India to study or work. But fate had other things in store, and we landed in Germany in 1972. My keen interest in India was still strong, and thus when I discovered an Indian girl, Surekha Jain, in my German class at the Kiel University, I was overjoyed. We quickly became friends and I soon was introduce into her family, or those of which were then staying in Kiel with Prof. Jain.

Prof. Jain rapidly became Bauji to me and within a few short months, it felt like I had found an improbable second family in Germany : while realizing that my main emphasis must be to learn German and acclimatize myself to European life and work, I was eager to keep in contact with India and Hindi. Soon an opportunity to do so arose, which was advantageous to everyone involved. I offered to English-edit and type Bauiji's momentous transcript and commentary of the *Vasudevahiṇḍi*. I would come to his apartment several times a week and spend the afternoon at work there with him at the big living room table. Quickly we talked and worked as a team, and the task took on shape. Our "breaks" were wonderful, in typically hospitable Indian style, with delicious spicy hot milk tea (the taste of which I will never forget, although I haven't had such tea now in many years) and often quickly-fried Indian delicacies as a snack served by Mrs. Jain, or Baa to me. Often other family members would join us then, and we would laugh and talk together. My own American family was far away - and although happily married, these precious hours of family life were special to me.

As the project progressed, I also got a chance to do some language work as well, in translating from Hindi into English some delightful Jain stories which Bauiji had translated from the original

Prakrit. These were eventually published in India under the title *The Gift of Love*. Over the years that slender volume has made many a special personal gift of mine to numerous dear friends in Europe and America, furthering the warm ties of personal affection and cultural respect.

In 1974 the Jains left Kiel to return to India. Our joint project was fairly well completed, which gave deep satisfaction, but the farewells were tearful. A year later my husband and I also left Kiel to fresh jobs in the south of Germany. Our present contact with India and Indians is primarily through letters and many fond memories and telling Indian folk tales to our children.

A Tribute

Maria Helena De Bastos Freire

It is an immense pleasure for me to be able to express my acquaintance and friendship with Prof. Dr. J.C. Jain, whom I learned to respect and admire for his devotion to preserve and promote the Indian culture.

His generosity stands out in his rich personality as a laborious collaborator in projects and activities in which I was engaged at the time. During several years, every time I went to Bombay, we planned together ways and means to propagate Indian culture, and specifically in my case, yoga as a philosophy of life.

While Prof. Dr. Jain lived in Brazil, I had the good fortune to become his disciple in Sanskrit, which helped me immensely in my studies on yoga and Hinduism.

To be able in some way to collaborate for the "Felicitation Volume," pleases me very much. I hope to have been able to convey to the readers a little about the greatness of soul of this Pandit, who embodies in an unequivocal way the cultural tradition of India.

May he be blessed by all those he enlighted on the Path.

A Homage

Lia Diskin

I am deeply honoured to write these lines and give evidence of the immense benefits that Professor Dr. Jagdish Chandra Jain brought to Brazil and most especially to the academic community of this country. His numberless conferences on the cultural history of India and, particularly, on the role that Jainism played in this development, provided us all a richness to which we had no previous access. Still in our days, Jainism is a practically unknown religious tradition in these countries, which is mainly due to the lack of bibliographic material in the Portuguese language.

Professor Dr. Jagdish Chandra Jain, aware of this reality, wrote the articles that made the deep philosophical reflections of Mahāvira Vardhamāna as well as those of his successors, available to us. He also wrote, especially for the Brazilian public, a work titled "Jainism" which is up to this day the only work in the Portuguese language referring to this tradition.

It is thus for our great indebtedness to Professor Jain that we pay tribute and express our sincere acknowledgment to him, hoping to be able to count again with such a distinguished personality among us.

Dr. J.C. Jain: My Husband of 60 years

Kamalshri Jain

The first time my husband's sisters came to see me I hid under the hay in the loft in our village. After much running around I was found and duly approved to be married to Shri Jagdish Chandra Jain, who was doing his first year B.A., on June 29, 1929. At our marriage he insisted on conducting our ceremony. He recited all the Sanskrit shlokas himself. He even corrected the Purohit. I was impressed: it was something absolutely unheard of.

After marriage I stayed with my mother-in-law and brother-in-law in Basera, a village in western U.P., while he went back to complete his studies at the Benares Hindu University. He has always been totally immersed in his studies. He would come home during his holidays, sit with his mother and discuss with his brother about the happenings of the village. Once he brought a kerosene stove with him and the whole village collected at our house to see this new wonder which cooked faster and did not need wood. The women of the village congratulated me and I was very happy. After he completed his M.A. we went to Shantiniketan. He was a research scholar. I could not even understand the language, the atmosphere was totally new, but my husband was very helpful, always encouraged me, and I even learned Bengali from his friends. I learned to eat rassogullas, which I first threw out thinking them to be eggs. Meeting with Rabindranath Tagore is a cherished memory.

In 1934, we came to Bombay, yet another atmosphere, yet another language. But my husband's presence gave me the confidence which I needed. Everybody called me 'Panditani' with affection and my heart would swell with pride. In Bombay, my husband got actively involved in politics like all the other Indian intellectuals. India was going through such a turmoil, the whole country was boiling with activity. Gandhiji's call for sacrifice never failed to inspire. Even I gave up fine clothing and started wearing khadi. As a result of all his

political activities, he was detained in 1942 during the Quit India Movement. When the C.I.D. came to take him, I thought that he would be back in a few hours, but these stretched into full six months. That was a very hard period. My children were very small. My brother came to take me home, but I chose to stay back in Bombay. Everyday I would go to the Worli detention camp to see him. This daily trip sustained me through that trying period. Even now, when I think back, my heart seems to stand still.

Inspite of all this, I never thought of discouraging him from his activities. Meanwhile, he completed his Ph.D. and became Dr. J.C. Jain and I Dr. Mrs. J.C. Jain.

Then came 1948, and Mahatma Gandhi's assassination. This world shaking event had far reaching effect on our family. My husband was the Chief Prosecution Witness and he had to keep going to Delhi to give his evidence. Emotions were running high in the country. We had an armed guard posted outside of our house. I was expecting our youngest son. I thought that this nightmare would never end. But every night brings in a morning.

Life started going back to normal. In 1952, he was invited to China to teach at the University of Peking. He went there for a year.

I fell sick, my children were ill, but I never thought of calling him back or discouraging him. In 1959, his invitation to Bihar again disrupted our domestic life. He was teaching there for a year. Finally in 1968, my husband retired from his teaching career at the Ruia College and I was relieved. I thought finally that out lives would be now peaceful. Our children had grown up and I believed that our restful days had finally arrived. The peace lasted only until 1970. My husband had received an offer to teach at the University of Kiel in West Germany. Out came his bags to be packed once again but there was a marked difference this time: I was to accompany him. My initial reluctance was put to rest by his assurance which gave me this needed confidence again to face a totally new world. We stayed back in Germany for four years. During this period, he went to different universities in Europe to lecture and I had always accompanied him. I saw the world with him. I could have never dreamed to have travelled so much. After our return to India in 1974, we stayed back until 1980 when we joined our youngest son, Anil, in Brazil, where we stayed until 1982.

After our return to India and till today he is always by my side. He never thinks twice about doing anything for me. I can always depend on him. He has always been my better half.

(as told to Manju Jain)

A Letter

Jainendra Navlakha

Please accept my heartiest congratulations on the publication of a felicitation volume in your honour. There are few who have achieved the leval of expertise in their individual fields as you have, and fewer still who are masters in a variety of academic and non-academic spheres as you are.

I am sure others will elucidate your achievements in Jain literature and Prakrit studies, but let me present a little personal side of yours to the readers.

Since the first time I talked with you in summer 1979 to receive your permission to marry your youngest daughter Surekha, I have always found you a person of remarkable knowledge, clear thinking and one who takes quick decisions even in the midst of adversity of all type. I have relied on your opinions and suggestion on many occasions, and have derived courage from you to tackle adversity myself.

In particular, summer 1986 stands out in my mind. I had come to Bombay on an important mission which was rather difficult and complicated. When I encountered a major hurdle that made me extremely distraught, it was you who taught me the Hindu philosophical way to deal with difficult situations in life. Those conversations were extremely important for me to sustain myself, and are etched in my mind forever.

You are not only a scholar, but also a social worker and a very generous person. Your doors are open to people from all walks of life who come to seek your advice. Recently you received the prestigious Prakrit Jñānabhārathi Award from the Prakrit Jñānabhārathi Education Trust, Bangalore. You immediately donated the entire amount to the institute for the welfare of the students. This small gesture speaks volumes about your generosity.

You have been a mentor, a teacher, a friend, and most of all, a source of inspiration for me. It has been a distinct pleasure and honour to have known you from close.

May God keep showering His blessings on you for ever.

SECTION II

The Aśokan Inscriptions and Prakrit Dialect Geography

K.R. Norman

The earliest date at which we have direct evidence for the existence of the Prakrit dialects in India is the third century B.C., although we can deduce, from features which we would describe as Prakritic in *Ṛgveda* and other early Sanskrit texts, that such dialects were already in existence at a much earlier date. We have no evidence for the regions in which such early Prakrits were spoken. For the geographical location of the Prakrit dialects in the third century B.C. we have the evidence of the inscriptions which the Mauryan emperor Aśoka had inscribed in various dialects in various parts of India. It is assumed that dialects of his inscriptions reflected the vernacular languages in use at each of the sites.

It is, however, not easy to evaluate precisely the evidence which the Aśokan inscriptions provide, and yet it is important to do so before using them, as some scholars have done, in an attempt to define the location of the dialect with which Pali, the language of the Theravādin canon, most nearly coincides. Because Pali seems to resemble most closely the type of Prakrit found in the Girnār version of the inscriptions, it has been assumed by some that Pali is basically a dialect from the west of India, and more specifically, from an area near Girnār. Lamotte, for example, listed[1] the features[2] which supported his statement that, of all the Aśokan dialects, that of the Girnār version of the Major Rock Edicts is the closest to Pali, and he concluded[3] that the cradle of Pali—"if we can speak of a cradle for such a composite language"—is to be sought among the Western Prakrits, in the area of Avanti extending into Kathiawar. Similarly, Bloch stated: "Girnar fournit la langue la plus proche du pali des livres bouddhiques singhalais, qui nous servira de repére; c'est du reste en raison de cette ressemblance qu'on suppose the pali originaire d'une région voisine".[4]

It is clear that the dialect of the Aśokan inscriptions found at Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra coincided closely with the language of that

area, because the characteristics of those inscriptions (the retention of *-r-* in consonant groups, and the presence of the three sibilants *Ś Ṣ S*, etc.) are found in the languages of that area to this day. There are also certain individual lexical items in the Aśokan inscriptions in the north-west, e.g. *spasu* "sister" (< Sanskrit *svasā*) occurs in place of *bhaginī* which occurs in the other Aśokan sites.[5] With this we may compare present-day Shina *sa(s)*, Tirahi *spas*, etc.[6] Similarly, two features of the dialect of the Aśokan inscriptions from sites in the east of India—the replacement of *r* by *l*, and the nominative singular ending in *-e-* coincide with two of the most prominent features of the dialect which the later grammarians called Māgadhī. Although palatal ś, the third of the prominent features of the grammarians' Māgadhī, does not occur in the Aśokan inscriptions in the east of India, there is reason to believe that it too occurred in the Prakrit which underlies the Aśokan inscriptions.[7]

Nevertheless, the same cannot be said of all the regions. The Prakrit found in the Aśokan inscriptions at Yeṛṛaguḍi can hardly have corresponded to the language of the area in the third century B.C., which must have been then, as it is now, Dravidian. It seems more likely that only the local bureaucrats or administrators used a Prakrit dialect, doubtless for administration purposes. Even less likely is the belief that the dialect of the fragments from Sopara, where *r* consistently replaces *l* and thus produces *phara* and *maṃgara* in place of *phala* and *maṃgala*, coincided with the dialect spoken at that place at the time of Aśoka.

Once it is recognised that the language of the inscriptions at each site was not necessarily the local dialect, and perhaps bore no resemblance to it, or at best represented what the scribes[8] *thought* was the local dialect, the possibility arises that the dialect at, say, Girnār does not represent exactly, or even closely, the local language, and the use of that dialect's characteristics to define the origin of Pali may be misleading or even incorrect.

It is of considerable interest in this context to examine in this short paper, offered in honour of Professor J.C. Jain, the characteristics of the two most recently discovered portions of Aśokan inscriptions. The first of these is a fragment of Pillar Edict 6.[9] It would appear that the stone bearing the inscription, now in Karachi, was purchased by its present owner in Peshawar. According to the information given by the seller, it had been found in Buner or in the area of Takht-i Bāhi. The few words of this fragment, as Professor M. Taddei has shown[10] are identical with the Tōprā version of Pillar Edict 6. It is inscribed in the Brāhmī script, unlike the other north-western inscriptions from

Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra which are in the Kharoṣṭhī script, and the language also shows none of the features of the north-western Prakrit. Despite its provenance, the language of the fragment is identical with the language of the Toprā version. The king's name is written as *piya* (*dasi*),[11] and there is no trace of the akṣara *pri-*,which would have been the form expected in the north-western Prakrit.

We must assume that this fragment is a portion of a complete Pillar Edict, or set of Pillar Edicts, which had been inscribed somewhere in the area in which the fragment was found. When an inscription is not found in situ, there is always some doubt about its precise provenance, since it is obvious that it may have been brought to the find-spot from some distance away. It is, however, difficult to imagine a reason for carrying a stone slab to the north-west from anywhere else in ancient or mediaeval times. Removal in more modern times would seem to have only the potential value to a collector in mind, but as noted above the dealer who sold the slab believed that it came from the neighbourhood of Peshawar, and there seems to be no reason for supposing that he was not telling the truth.

Professor Taddei's view is that the inscription was carved while Aśoka was on a visit to the north-western region of his empire, and the Brāhmī script was used because it was carved by a scribe from Magadha who had accompanied Aśoka on his visit.[12] Professor Mukherjee, on the other hand, believes that both Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī were used side by side in the north-west even after the introduction of the Kharoṣṭhī script into that area in the Achaemenid period.[13] I would, however, prefer to suggest that these features are in keeping with a view that the Pillar Edicts were the last series of inscriptions which Aśoka promulgated, and that because of the changes (and errors) which had been introduced by scribes when inscribing the earlier series of Minor and Major Rock Edicts,[14] Aśoka had ordered the Pillar Edict series to be inscribed in exactly the same form as they were sent to each site. The consequence of this was that a Brāhmī version sent to a Kharoṣṭhī area would be copied out in the Brāhmī script, and the dialect of the exemplar[15] would not be changed.

The second discovery was at Sannati, when the Devi shrine within the Chandralāṃbā temple complex there was being renovated. Sections of Aśoka's Major Rock Edicts 11 and 14 were found on a large slab of brown granite which had been used as a pedestal (*pīṭha*) for the Kālī image. When the slab was being moved for a proper upkeep, sections of Separate Edicts 1 and 2 were noticed on the reverse face of the slab.[16] There is some doubt about the exact provenance of this slab

also, since it had clearly been cut from a larger slab. The size and weight of the piece of granite suggest that it had not been carried very far, and it is probable that it was brought from somewhere close by in the neighbourhood. It must be assumed that at one time the other Major Rock Edicts also existed in the area.

The two Major Rock Edicts are written in an eastern dialect, with *l* for *r* in all places and the nominative singular ending *-e*. Although Alsdorf devoted a whole monograph to the study of the two Separate Edicts,[17] many difficulties remain because the two versions of these edicts hitherto known at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa differ quite considerably from one another in details. This newly-found third version of the Separate Edicts at Sannati differs slightly from both the earlier versions. It writes *r* where it is historically appropriate, e.g. in *carana*, but not where it is inappropriate, e.g. it writes *labhevu*, not *rabhevu*, whereas Dhauli and Jaugaḍa retain eastern *l* throughout. Sannati retains the eastern optative ending *-evu*, as does Dhauli, whereas Jaugaḍa has *-eyu*. There is also the occasional difference in word order at Sannati. Sannati does, however, agree with both Dhauli and Jaugaḍa in retaining the eastern nominative singular ending *-e*.

Elsewhere[18] I have stated my belief that scribes wrote in the dialect which they thought was appropriate to their region, and they were sometimes correct and sometimes incorrect in their translation attempts. I have repeated above my opinion that the language of the Yeṟṟaguḍi inscriptions could hardly represent the local dialect, which must have been Dravidian. Even if we assume that the edict was inscribed there for the benefit of the local administrators who had probably come from the north India, it is hard to account for the fact that the Major Rock Edicts at that site are in an Eastern dialect with *l*, while the Minor Rock Edicts are in a dialect with *r* and *l*, although the eastern nominative ending *-e* is retained. These differences must represent scribal inconsistencies, or a change of scribe, rather than a change in the speech habits of the local administrators.

Similar considerations apply to Sannati. That region of Karṇāṭaka was hardly likely to have been a Prakrit-speaking area at the time of Aśoka, and so an eastern dialect, with the eastern *l* in all places and the nominative singular in *-e* in the Major Rock Edicts could only have been intelligible to the local bureaucrats at Sannati, who presumably came from the north India. This does not, however, explain why the Separate Edicts are written in a dialect which includes both *r* and *l*, whereas the scribe has retained the eastern nominative singular ending *-e* and has left the eastern *-evu* ending of the third person plural optative

form unchanged.

We see, therefore, that of these two recently discovered Aśokan inscriptions, the one from the north-west of India is not written in the dialect appropriate to the area, although the Aśokan inscriptions found elsewhere in the area are written in a dialect which must have approximated closely to the local vernacular, while the inscriptions from Sannati are written in a Prakrit which would have been fitting for a site in north India, but not for a Dravidian-speaking area—exactly as in the case of the Yeṟṟaguḍi version of the Aśokan inscriptions.

This new evidence reinforces my suggestion that the dialect variations in the Aśokan inscriptions are due to differences in translation techniques, i.e. they are scribal features and do not necessarily bear any resemblance to the dialect spoken at the individual sites. At best they represent a measure of the scribes' knowledge of the local dialects and their ability to translate into them.

It is clear that any conclusions about the origin of Pali, which are based upon the regional geography of the Aśokan inscriptions must be examined very carefully, and can be disregarded if they conflict with other evidence. The inscriptional evidence from the second century B.C. shows that the distinction between *r* and *l* forms and the nominative singular ending *-o* were much more widespread than in the Aśokan inscriptions, stretching right across India to the East as far as Khāravela's cave inscription at Hāthigumphā in Orissa. If we can disregard the evidence of the Aśokan inscriptions and assume that the situation in the second century reflects the pattern of dialect distribution of the third century, then it would be open to us to conclude that the dialect upon which Pali was based had its home much nearer Magadha. As I have recently pointed out,[19] when the Māgadhisms[20] and Sanskritisms[21] in Pali have been disregarded, there is, in fact, very little difference between the language of the Theravādin canon and the language of the Hāthigumphā inscription.

NOTES

1. Étienne Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism from the Origins to the Śaka era* (English translation of *Histoire du Bouddhisme indien des origines à l'ère Śaka*), Louvain, 1988, p. 565.
2. Some of the similarities which Lamotte listed between Pali and the Girnar dialect, e.g. the development of *ṛ* > *a*, *i* and *u*, the development of the three Sanskrit sibilants >*s*, and the shortening of long nasalised vowels, are common to many Prakrit dialects,

and are therefore of no value for our enquiry.

3. Lamotte, *op.cit.*, p. 566.
4. J. Bloch, *Les inscriptions d'Aśoka*, Paris, 1950, pp. 44-45.
5. K.R. Norman, "Lexical variation in the Aśokan inscriptions", *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1970, pp. 121-36 (pp. 123-24).
6. See G. Morgenstierne, "Svasā and Bhaginī in Modern Indo-Aryan", *Acta Orientalia*, XXI, 1950, pp. 27-32.
7. K.R. Norman, "The dialects in which the Buddha preached", in H. Bechert (ed.), *The Language of the Earliest Buddhist Tradition*, Göttingen 1980, pp. 61-77 (p. 69).
8. I use the word "scribe" in the very widest sense, to include all those who were responsible for the transmission of the edicts, but especially the person(s) who made the translation into any particular regional dialect whether in the region or not, e.g. "the scribe at Girnār" might refer to a member of the secretariat in Pāṭaliputra hundreds of miles away, although it is more likely to refer to the man who actually carved the inscription on the rock at Girnār.
9. See K.R. Norman, "A newly-found fragment of an Aśokan inscription", *South Asian Studies*, 4, 1988, pp. 99-102.
10. M. Taddei, "Una nuova iscrizione di Aśoka dal Nordovest", in G. Gnoli & L. Lanciotti (eds.): *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci Memoriae Dicata*, Is.M.E.O., Serie Orientale Roma, 56, pt. 3, Rome 1988, pp. 1445-49.
11. Only the first two *akṣaras* of the name occur on the fragment.
12. Taddei, *op.cit.*, p. 1448.
13. B.N. Mukherjee, "A Brāhmī inscription of Aśoka from the North-West", *Haryana Sahitya Akademi Journal of Indological Studies*, III, 1988 (1990), pp. 109-12 (p. 110).
14. Cf. Aśoka's complaint: *so siya va atra kici asamataṃ likhitaṃ deśaṃ va saṃkhay (a) karaṇa va aloceti dipikarasa va aparadhena* (Shāhbāzgarhī, Rock Edict 14(E)): "But perhaps something has been written here incomplete, either considering the locality, or not approving of the cause, or by the fault of the writer".
15. I use word "exemplar" to mean any document which was copied or translated anywhere in the train of transmission of the edicts. It might have been the actual words dictated by Aśoka, or any subsequent version of this, right down to the actual document in the scribe's hand when he carved the inscription on the stone.
16. See K.R. Norman, "Aśokan inscriptions from Sannati", *South Asian Studies*, 7, 1991, pp. 101-10, where other articles on the subject are mentioned.
17. L. Alsdorf, *Aśokas Separatedikte von Dhauli und Jaugaḍa*, Mainz, 1962.

18. K.R. Norman, "The Dialects in which the Buddha preached", in H. Bechert (ed.), *The Language of the Earliest Buddhist Tradition*, Göttingen, 1980, pp. 61-77 (p. 69).
19. K.R. Norman, "The languages of early Buddhism", to appear in *Actes du Colloque Lamotte* (24-27 September 1989).
20. e.g. the occasional nominative singular in *-e*.
21. e.g. the consonant groups containing *-r-* and the absolutive ending *-tvā*.

Is there any cerebral *ḷ* in Prakrit?

Satya Ranjan Banerjee

Generally in Prakrit there is no cerebral *ḷ* as found in Pali. No Prakrit grammarians have formulated any rule to indicate the cerebral *ḷ* in Prakrit, except in Paiśācī dialect as attested by Hemacandra. But Hultzsch in his edition of *Prākṛta-rūpāvatāra* (London, 1909) has given examples with cerebral *ḷ* of words where dental *l* occurs in Sanskrit, for example, Skt. *salila* > Pkt. *saḷiḷa*. And as a result in Siṃharāja's *Prakrit grammar* all the dental *l is changed into the cerebral ḷ. As the sūtras* of the *Prākṛta-rūpāvatāra* (= *PR*) are the same with Trivikrama (1236-1300 A.D.) Lakṣmīdhara (1475-1525 A.D.), Appayadikṣīta (1553-1623 A.D.) and others, the validity of this cerebral *ḷ* in Hultzsch's edition is questionable, because the examples of the same word are not found with the cerebral *ḷ* in others. Moreover, the date of Siṃharāja, the author of *PR*, is between 1300 and 1400 A.D. So there cannot be any radical change in the language during this period. On top of this, there is no *sūtra* in *PR*, as also in other grammars mentioned above, which tells the change of dental *l* into cerebral *ḷ*. In the grammar books of Trivikrama, Lakṣmīdhara and Appayadikṣīta, the same words are found with dental *l* and not with cerebral *ḷ*. Herein lies the problem. How far the edition of *PR* as edited by Hultzsch is reliable as far as the cerebral *ḷ* is concerned, is a moot question.

The answer to this question is simple. The manuscripts of *PR* from which Hultzsch has prepared his edition are found in the south, and as such the influence of the Dravidian languages cannot be avoided. In the Dravidian languages this cerebral *ḷ* occurs, and so all the Sanskrit dental *l*'s are changed into cerebral *ḷ*. It is quite natural that the copyists have been influenced by their native scripts, and unconsciously incorporated the cerebral *ḷ* into their mss. without realising that the cerebral *ḷ* does not occur in Prakrit. If such be the case then the edition of Hultzsch as far as this cerebral *ḷ* is concerned is not happy. In this connection it should be noted that in the dramas of Bhāsa in a similar way this cerebral *ḷ* occurs. As Bhāsa's dramas are found in the South

(Trivandrum), the cerebralization of *ḷ* in Prakrit passages can be regarded as the influence of South Indian scripts or languages, say Malayalam in this case, where cerebral *ḷ* occurs. This cerebral *ḷ* in the dramas of Bhāsa has confused L.D. Barnett who wants to conjecture that there was a southern school of Prakrit (*JRAS*, 1921, p. 588) probably on the basis of these types of characteristics as found in Bhāsa's plays. It is to be remembered that in no Sanskrit dramas do we come across any cerebral *ḷ* in Prakrit passages except in Bhāsa's. So like *PR* of Siṃharāja, as edited by Hultzsch, the cerebral *ḷ* in the plays of Bhāsa is questionable.

Apart from the above (where cerebral *ḷ* seems to be doubtful), we can, perhaps, conjecture the existence of cerebral *ḷ* in Prakrit on the strength of the two *sūtras* of Hemacandra (1088-1172 A.D.), though no Prakrit grammarians have explicitly made any *sūtras* on it. In the case of Paiśācī, Hemacandra has clearly mentioned that the intervocalic dental *l* becomes cerebral *ḷ* (*lo ḷaḥ*. IV. 308); e.g., *sīḷaṃ, kuḷaṃ, jaḷaṃ, saliḷaṃ, kamaḷaṃ*. But the other *sūtra*—*ḍo laḥ* (I.202)—needs to be explained with a hypercritical eye. If we interpret the above *sūtra* of Hemacandra, we may guess that the cerebral *ḷ* might have also occurred in Prakrit as in Pali, though in a restricted sense. The *sūtra* simply means that the intervocalic *ḍ* becomes *l* in Prakrit; e.g., Skt. *taḍāga* > *talāya, garuḍa* > *garula, krīḍati* > *kīlai, vaḍavā-mukha* > *valayā-muha*, and so on. From this *sūtra* we may get the indication of the existence of cerebral *ḷ* in Prakrit, because in the *sūtra ḍo laḥ* there is every possibility that this *ḷ* should be a cerebral one, as *ḍ* being a cerebral sound, its replacement, should also be in cerebral *ḷ*. Hence the example *taḍāga* should be written as *taḷāya*, so also all other examples mentioned above. As cerebral *ḷ* occurs in Pali as well as in the *Ṛgveda*, as also in some of the new Indo-Aryan languages, there is a possibility of its existence in Prakrit also.

Linguistically, the cerebral *ḷ* has a long history. It exists in the *Ṛgveda*. The intervocalic *ḍ* becomes cerebral *ḷ* in Vedic; e.g., *īḍe* > *īḷe* (*RV*. I. 11). This cerebral sound of Vedic is, perhaps, preserved in Pali which is also recorded by Kaccāyana in his Pali grammar. Geiger notes: "The consonantal *ḷ* stands for intervocalic *ḍ*, likewise *ḷh* for *ḍh*. In the MSS. *l* and *ḷ* are always confused. Some spellings seem to be arbitrary. Thus *kāḷa* 'black' is mostly written with *ḷ*, although it is equivalent to Sanskrit *kāla*, probably to distinguish it from *kāla*, 'time'. Surely *ḷ* should be written everywhere where an etymological connection with cerebrals is apparent". (*Pali Literature and Language*, p. 61). It is quite possible then that this sound is also preserved in Prakrit, and the above

sūtra of Hemacandra (*ḍo ḷaḥ*) is an indication of the existence of that sound in Prakrit. In fact, that Hemacandra has recognized the cerebral *ḷ* in Paiśācī (*lo ḷaḥ.*) indicates that, at least, in one of the dialects of Prakrit, the cerebral *ḷ* occurs. But in Pali it is a very much distinctive sound, and in Prakrit its existence is very much restricted, or on the basis of Hemacandra's *sūtra*, it is at least, dialectal. Pischel (*Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, 1900, 240) has discussed the problem, and has given examples of cerebral *ḷ* from Jaina canonical and non-canonical texts, but most of them have alternative forms with *ḍ*. Linguistically, Pischel may be correct in using cerebral *ḷ* in those cases where *ḍ* occurs intervocally, but grammarians' views are not on a par with Pischel. Moreover, Pischel in his edition of Hemacandra's Prakrit Grammar Vol. I (Halle, 1877) and in his notes and explanation Vol. II (Halle, 1880) has not indicated that the *sūtra—ḍo laḥ* (I.202) should contain cerebral *ḷ*. However, if the cerebral *ḷ* is postulated in the *sūtra—ḍo laḥ* (i.e., *ḍo ḷaḥ*), then we can think of the existence of cerebral *ḷ* in Prakrit also.

Notes on Middle Indo-Aryan Vocabulary IV

W.B. Bolleé

In this paper the following Ardhamāgadhī, Prākrit, Apabhraṃśa and Pāli words will be discussed:

1.	aṇ-atthâkitti	6.	pautta
2.	āiṇṇa-saṃlekkha	7.	veṇu-palāsiya
3.	kāla-kankhi (n)	8.	saṃgilla, -ella, -olla etc.
4.	chinnāle chindai sellim	9.	saccavai
5.	Jamāli	10.	-saṃpavanka

The abbreviations used below are those used in W. Schubring's *Doctrine of the Jainas*. Delhi, 1978; D. Andersen et al., *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*. Epilegomena to vol. I by H. Smith, Copenhagen, 1948, and M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Oxford, 1899.

aṇ-atthâkitti

Utta 18, 34 sqq. mention a number of mostly mythical kings who abdicated and became monks, e.g., in vs. 50, king Vijaya whom the epithet *aṇ-aṭṭhâkitti* is given. This hapax legomenon caused great difficulties to the scholiasts, all the more, because there is also a *pāṭha*. Devendra's text reads *aṇaṭṭhâkitti*, but his comment runs *aṇaṭṭhâkitti tti ānaṣṭā (...) apagatā a-kīrttiḥ* (256a 3). Śāntisūri's text is identical with Devendra's, but he gives several explanations and thus shows his being at a loss: *ārṣatvād an-ārttaḥ ārtta-dhyāna-vikalaḥ kīrtty-adīnânāthâdi-dānôtthayā prasiddhyôpalakṣitaḥ san yad vā an-ārttā - sakala - doṣa-vigamato 'bādhitā kīrttir asyêty an-ārtta-kīrttiḥ san paṭhyate ca "āṇaṭṭhâkii pavvai" tti. Ājñā-āgamo 'rtha-śabdasya hetu-vacanasyâpi darśanād artho-hetur asyāḥ sā tathā-vidhā ākṛtir arthan su-niveśâtmikā yatra tad-ājñârthâkṛti yathā bhavaty evaṃ prāvrājīt* (448 b 13 sqq.).

Jacobi opted for *aṇaṭṭhâkitti* which he rendered 'whose sins were not quite annihilated', whereas Charpentier considered *aṇaṭṭhâ-kitti* to be the correct reading. Now looking at the context, we see that all other kings have epitheta ornantia, i.e. something positive is said about them which in Jacobi's rendering is not the case. I would like, therefore, to read *aṇ-attha*, equal it to OI *an-asta* and translate the compound by 'on whom blame was not/could not be cast'. *Attha* from √*as* 'to throw, cast' apparently does not occur in Amg. or Pāli as a simplex and this may have caused the commentators' confusion. Yet my interpretation is not based on a literal translation of the English idiom, for "he blames his servant" in Sanskrit is *doṣān bhṛtye kṣipati* (PWB s.v. *kṣip* sub 5 taken from the *Hitôpadeśa*).

āiṇṇa-saṃlekkha

This word is a hapax legomenon at *Āyār* 2, 2, 3, 12, a lesson containing rules for lodgings (*uvassaya*) acceptable to wandering monks and nuns. The paragraphs 1-4 are introductory; 5-12 forbid places used by or accessible only through the abode of the laymen; §13 sqq. specifically deal with the ascetic's charpoy (*saṃthāraga*). In §12 it is said that a monk or nun *āiṇṇa-saṃlekkhaṃ* (or: *-likkhaṃ*) *jāva pannassa no ṭhāṇaṃ vā 3 ceejjā*, i.e. should he or she learn of a lodging that is a place where severe penance is performed, he or she should not consider it fit for a wise man (or woman) for ascetic exercises, rest or study. Saṃlehā (Utta 36, 250) like *saṃlehaṇā* are terms for a wise man's ending his life by fasting. Perhaps this is also meant in the corrupt Cūrṇi (353, 8) *ādiṇṇo* (!) *ṇāma sâgāriya-m-ādiṇā salākhā*. In Pāli, *sallekha* just means 'austere penance' (PED). I cannot adduce an example of it with *ācarati*, but in Milinda 230, 11 *sallekhitâcāra* is found used of an exemplary monk and translated by Isaline Horner as 'one whose habits are submissive'. She explains this in a note by 'perhaps self-effacing'. This compound, which occurs in a similar context ibidem, p. 244, 12 and 348, 25 sqq., seems to be restricted to Milinda.

Jacobi, following Śīlânka's scholion *citra-bhitti-darśanāt svadhyāya-kṣitiḥ; tathā-vidha-citra-stha-stry-ādi-darśanāt pūrva-krīḍitâ-krīḍita-smaraṇa-kautukâdi-sambhavaḥ* (II 340 b 5), renders *āiṇṇa-saṃlekkha* by 'which is a much frequented play-ground'. This makes good sense but hardly fits the known meaning of *saṃle (kk) hā* and Jacobi himself expresses his doubt of it in a footnote.

kāla-kankhi (n)

Most religions disapprove of taking one's own life. Jaina scholiasts distinguish between twelve kinds of *bāla-maraṇa* and three kinds of *paṇḍiya-maraṇa*. The latter, which are approved of, consist of (1) fasting to death (*bhatta-paccakkhāṇa*), (2) abstention from food plus maintaining a posture of immobility (*pāovagamaṇa*) and (3) (in some texts, like *Utta* 5, 32), the same, but with a limited freedom to move (*ingiṇi-maraṇa*). These kinds of suicide, hinted at already at *Āyār* 1, 8, 7, 5, are usually committed at the end of one's life and require the approval of one's *guru* who supervises the act (*Utta* 5, 31). Though death is a monk's friend (*Utta* 14, 27 *yass' atthi maccuṇā sakkhaṃ*), *kāla-kankhin* may not be translated by 'longing for death' as Jacobi did at 1, 3, 2, 1*, but should be waiting for one's death' as he rendered it in the same passage at *Utta* 6, 14 (without referring to the *Āyār*), cf. *Āyār* 1, 7, 8, 4 *duhao vi na sajjejja jīvie maraṇe tahā* and especially Sūy 1, 11, 38 *no jīviyaṃ no kālam ākankhī* (Cf. 1, 12, 22 = 1, 13, 23 *no* j. *maraṇâhi kankhī*). Also at *Āyār* 1, 6, 5, 6 *kālôvaṇīe kankhejja kālaṃ'* (the sage...) being in the power of death, desires death' I think one should translate '...should quietly wait for death', as in fact Jacobi did at the parallel Sūy 1, 5, 2, 25 '(a wise man) should wait for his decease'. The idea is also known to the Buddhists, e.g., Sn 516 *kālaṃ kankhati bhāvito* 'seine Sterbenszeit erwartet, innerlich gereift' (Nyanaponika). In MW s.v. *kālâkānkṣin* 'expecting (quietly) the coming time' the reference Mbh cr. ed. 5, 13, 20 is to be added, where Ganguli rendered it as 'biding his time' said of Indra, when he disappears, invisible, because he is afraid of Nahuṣa. Further also 14, 46, 28, where an ascetic is advised *mātrâsi kālam ākāṅkṣaṃś caret bhaikṣaṃ samāhitaḥ*. The term discussed here was not dealt with in Settar's works *Inviting Death* (Dharvar, 1986) and *Pursuing Death* (Dharvar, 1990).

Chinnāle chindai sellim

The rare *chinnāla* occurs in Utta 27, 7 one of a group of stanzas making up a parable of Garga on the training of bad pupils who are compared to bad bullocks yoked to a chariot. The stanza runs:

chinnāle chindaī selliṃ dud-danto bhanjae jugaṃ
se vi ya sussuyāittā ujjahittā palāyae

which Jacobi rendered as 'the cursed beast will rend asunder the rope, or

in its unruliness break the yoke; and roaring it will break loose and run off'. At this occasion only the first *pāḍa* interests us. *Chinnāla* according to Śāntisūri (551 b 6) and Devendra (317 a 6) means *tathā-vidha-duṣṭa-jāti*, and Hemacandra equates it to *jāra* 'adulterer' (Desin 3, 27). It thus seems to be a masculine retro-formation from *chinnālī* 'a woman whose nose and ears have been cut off because of adultery'. Thereby, *chinnāla* testifies to the high antiquity of sex-related invectives. These apparently can be applied to animals with the same obviousness as *vṛṣabha* or *vatsa* can be used of men.

Selli/silli, if belonging to √*si* (Turner, CDIAL 13591), might have a parallel in German *Seil* 'cord, rope'.

Jamāli

Leumann (*Indische Studien* XVII 98 sqq.) and Schubring (*Doctrine*, §18) who deal with Mahāvīra's nephew paid no attention to the name Jamāli as such, and the Prākrit dictionaries take it to be a *tatsama*. The etymology, however, is *Yamâri*, I think, a name of Viṣṇu in Bhāsa's *Pañcarātra* (PWB), cf. Mallâri (= Kṛṣṇa) and Murâri, but I would not like to speculate on Vaisnava influence in Bihar in the 6th century B.C.

pautta

In his *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Maharaṣṭrī*, p. 33, 34 (=Devendra 255 a 13 ad Utta 18, 48) Jacobi published the story of king Kesi who was visited by the monk Udāyaṇa, himself a former king. Kesi's ministers suspected Udayana of a plan to oust their ruler and therefore advised the latter as follows: *visaṃ se dijjau. Egāe pasu-vālīe ghare pauttaṃ dahiṇā saha dejjāhi ! tti* (-ĀvCu II 36, 14 with *sahaṃ dehi*). In his Glossary, Jacobi brings the entry *pauttā* equal to Sa. *prayuktā* "etwa 'Brei'", whereas J.J. Meyer in his *Hindi Tales* (London, 1910), p. 115 translates as 'Let poison be given to him. Give him *pautta* with sour milk by the hand of a herdswoman in the house'. In a note on *pautta* (sic! not feminine) Meyer remarks "It seems to be poison (...) and my conjecture is supported by Lakṣmīvallabha, for Uttarajjhāyā [Calcutta, 1880], p. 560 lines 9, 10 we read: *Tatas tair ekasyāḥ paśu-pālyā gṛhe viśa-miśritaṃ dadhi kāritam*". I see no ground either to take *pauttā* as feminine in the questionable sense of 'porridge' or to read in Lakṣmīvallabha's gloss meaning 'poison'. The latter appears to say simply 'then they (i.e. the ministers) had curds mixed with poison made in the hut of a certain herdswoman, 'cf. Abhayadeva's comment on

Ṭhāṇanga *viṣa-miśra-dadhi-dāpanena pañcatvaṃ gamitaḥ* (431 b 11). *Pauttam* refers to *viṣaṃ*. I would render the above passage as 'He is to be given poison. Give (it him) together with curds in the hut of a herdswoman'. Also *miśra* means together with, with instr. alone or with *saha* (MW). The *Utta* reference should be added in Mehta and Chandra, *Prakrit Proper Names*, s.v. Udāyaṇa.

veṇu-palāsiya

Sūyagaḍa 1, 4, 2 describes a fallen monk ordered about by his mistress as a warning against relaxed discipline. Thus at vs. 7 she asks him to fetch or procure various things the names of two of which we do not exactly know, viz. *kukkayaya* and *veṇu-palāsiya*. The commentators take the second word to be a bamboo strip held between the teeth and plucked, as I stated in my *Studien zum Sūyagaḍa* II, p. 171. Jacobi (*SBE* 45, p. 276) adopted this idea and rendered the compound as "Venupalāsiya lute" whereas Alsdorf avoided a translation (*Kleine Schriften*, p. 205). In my above study (Stuttgart, 1988) I finally asked — given the context of cosmetic articles — if the word in question could be a kind of bamboo vessel.

In other stanzas, however, like 10, 11 and 13 the items enumerated by no means belong to one and the same category. Keeping this in mind one could take *veṇu* and *palāsiya* as a dvandva, bamboo and *palāśa* wood, which together with *vikankata*, *khadira*, *udumbara* etc. are found at Āpastamba Srauta Sūtra 15, 5, 11 in a list of kinds of firewood used to heat the *mahāvīra* at the *pravargya* milk sacrifice to the Aśvins. The woman who in vs. 9 wanted a knife to cut vegetables and in vs. 10 a cooking pot will certainly require firewood, too.

saṃgilla, -ella, -olla etc.

For *saṃgilla* and *-ella* '*samūha*' PSM mentions from literature only the incomplete reference Vav 1, which I therefore could not check. The former word occurs also in the Pāialacchināmamālā vs. 221 and is given the meaning 'joined, bound' by Bühler. With the same sense the Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā states *saṃgolla* (PSM) and Deśin 8, 4 also *saṃgolli*. The forms ending in *-i* are definitely nouns. Actually used the above words do appear for us only in two compounds, viz., *raha-saṃgelli* in a stock phrase Aup § 51 = Viy 9, 33, 385 (fol. 474 b 7) = JambūP 3, 67 (fol. 261 a 10) *ranno* (...) *purao mahaṃ-āsā* (...) *pitthao rahā raha-saṃgellī* 'in front of the king were big horses (...) behind him a row of

chariots'. Thus, *raha-saṃgelli* is a prākritisation of *rathasaṃga* 'array of chariots for a race' (ṚV 9, 53, 2). This Vedic reference supports Turner's derivation (CDIAL no. 13084).

The other compound is *hattha-saṃgelli* the instrumental of which *-le*, occurs as a hapax legomenon in a remarkable passage in Nāyā 1, 3, 53 where two men 'hand in hand' with a *gaṇikā* in a pleasure garden (see my contribution "The Peacock Egg" in Ph.Granoff (ed.), *The Clever Adulteress and Other Stories*. A treasury of Jain Literature. Oakville, 1990, p. 15 note 42).

To this group of words may also belong the adjective *saṃgiliya* in Jacobi's Bhavisattakahā 234, 3. In his glossary, the editor holds it to be either a ppp. of *saṃgilati*, which is not in the dictionaries, or of *saṃgalai* corresponding to Sa. *saṃghaṭate* (this I doubt pace Hemacandra 4, 113). For the sense required Sanskrit offers *saṃkalati*, but possibly in *saṃgiliya* we have before us a metrically adapted form *saṃgil(l)* i + *-ya* (Sa. -ka).

Ap. saccavai 'paśyati'

Hemacandra mentions *saccavai* in the above sense and its ppp. *-iya* occurs twice in the Bhavisattakaha. In its Glossary, Jacobi did not refer to Pischel (Grammar § 559), who thinks the etymon to be *satyāpayati* 'to verify' (MW). There are, however, several cases of Prākrit sibilants OI. mute palatals. I dealt with this phenomenon earlier (*Indologica Taurinensia* XIV 1987-8, p. 160 sq.). Perhaps the verb discussed here also, as a causative of √*cakṣ*, belongs to this category. If so, for Prākrit and Ap. we would expect *sacchavai*. Pali *saccāpeti* apparently is not relevant here for semantical reasons.

Turner, in his CDIAL 724, also assumes the reverse to take place OI. **sukṣa* > Pkt. *cuncha* and Cf. *Sapta-grāma* > *c(h)itta-gong*. Even in Vedic tradition pronunciation sometimes fluctuated as the reading with *ś-* and *ch-* show at *sinantu* (AV 4, 16, 6).

Pā. - sampavanka

Saṃpavanka occurs in the Tipiṭaka as the second and last member of two compounds: *pāpa-°* and *kalyāṇa-°* in a few references and seems to have fallen into complete disuse afterwards. These references are mainly part of a triad: *pāpa-mitta*, *pāpa-sahāya* and *pāpa-saṃpavanka*, e.g.

DīghaNikāya II 78, 19 *yāvakīyaṃ ca (...) bhikkhu na pāpa mittā bhavissanti na pāpa-sahāyā na pāpa-saṃpavankā, vuddhi yeva (...) bhikkhunāṃ pāṭikankhā, no parihāni* 'so long as the brethren shall not become the friends, companions or intimates of evildoers, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper' (T.W. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha* II (SBB III), p. 83). The first two compounds of this triad, which nicely follows Behaghel's rule, are bahuvrīhis, as Alsdorf (*Kleine Schriften*. Wiesbaden, 1974, p. 362) confirmed Buddhaghosa's gloss *pāpā Devadattâdayo mittā assā ti pāpa-mittā. te yev' assa sahāyā ti pāpa-sahāyā* and may hold good for the triad's last item also: *tesv ev' assa cittaṃ ninnaṃ saṃpavankaṃ ti pāpa-saṃpavanko* (Spk I 154, 15 sqq. ad Saṃyutta N I 83, 27) '*p*. is he whose low mentality is an accomplice of these bad people', cf. *tan-ninna-tap-poṇa-tap-pabhāratayā pāpesu saṃpavankā ti pāpa-saṃpavankā* '*p*. are those who flock together with the wicked because of their being as mean as these, as much prone and tending to evil,' SV 529, 12 on DN (l.c.). At Ja III 323, 22* *pāpa-saṃpavanka* occurs alone: *na pāpa-saṃpavankena mātā puttena nandati* 'a mother does not like her son to go with wicked people/be in bad company', but the gloss is similar. Apparently, *saṃpavanka* primarily has a bad connotation, as is also testified, e.g., by Puggalapaññatti 36 *atha kho naṃ kitti-saddo abbhuggacchati "pāpa-saṃpavanko" ti* 'his reputation is that of an accomplice of the wicked'. The opposite *kalyāṇa-saṃpa-vanka*, therefore, may very well have been coined only in analogy of *pāpa-s* as can be seen also from e.g. Puggalapaññatti 36 *atha kho naṃ kitti-saddo abbhuggacchati "pāpa-saṃpavanko" ti* 'his reputation is that of an accomplice of the wicked'.

Unfortunately, the Turfan Ms. with the Sanskrit version has a lacuna here (E. Waldschmidt, *Das Mahaparinirvāṇasūtra*. AdAW Berlin 1950, 2. Berlin, 1951, p. 124), so that we do not know the Sanskrit equivalent, whereas the Śaśa-avadāna parallel discussed by Alsdorf (op.cit.) has *samparka*. This shows that the translator rendered *Pā. saṃpavanka* ad sententiam. No scholiast helps us in finding an etymology. I therefore cannot think of anything better than **sampravaṅka* or *-vakra*. The root VAK/VAṄK/VAÑC 'to go (crookedly or slyly)' (Monier Williams) occurs since RV and AV times.

Abbreviations

Utta	*Uttarādhyayana*
Vs	Verse
Āyār	*Ācārāṅga*
Sūya	*Sutrakṛtāṅga*
Desin	*Desīnāmamālā*
MW	Monier *William's Sanskrit-English Dictionary*
SBB	*Sacred Books of the Buddhists*
SBE	*Sacred Books of the East*
PSM	*Pāiyasadda mahaṇṇavo*
Jambup	*Jambudvīpa prajñapti*
RV	*Ṛgveda*
Naya	*Nāyadhammakahāo*
Pkt	*Prākrit*
AV	*Atharvaveda*
O N	Nikāya
J A	Jātaka

Jainas and other 'Heretics' in Buddhist Art

Dieter Schlingloff

The members of religious communities, which were rivals of the Buddhist *saṅgha* ('heretics') were generally called *tīrthya* in Buddhist literature.[1] The oldest extant Pali list of those religious communities enumerates ten groups, viz. Ājīvaka, Nigaṇṭha, Muṇḍasāvaka, Jaṭilaka, Paribbājaka, Māgaṇḍika, Tedaṇḍika, Aviruddhaka, Gotamaka and Devadhammika.[2] There is a similar list in Buddhist Sanskrit names—Caraka, Parivrājaka, Vṛddhaśrāvaka, Gautama, Nirgrantha and Ājīvika.[3] Another enumeration, which has some terms in common with the Buddhist lists, is given by the astrologer Varāhamihira: Śākya, Ājīvika, Bhikṣu, Vṛddha, Caraka, Nirgrantha and Vanyāśana. Bhaṭṭotpala, the commentator of this text, defines Śākya as 'Raktapaṭa', Ājīvika as 'Ekadaṇḍin', Nirgrantha as 'Nagna', 'Kṣapaṇaka, prāvaraṇarahita', and Vanyāśāna as 'mulaphalāśanas Tapasvin'.[4]

Buddhaghoṣa, the commentator of the Pali text on the other hand explains Ājīvaka as 'Naggapabbajita', Nigaṇṭha as 'Purimabhāgapaṭichanna', Muṇḍasāvaka as 'Nigaṇṭhasāvaka, Jaṭilaka as 'Tāpasa', Paribbājaka as 'Channaparibbājaka', Māgaṇḍika and the others as 'Titthiyā.'[5]

Surprisingly, the two names which are in common to all of the three texts, viz. the Ājīvikas and the Nirgranthas,[6] are explained differently by the commentators: Ājīvika by Bhaṭṭotpala as 'Ekadaṇḍin' and by Buddhaghoṣa as 'Nagna', Nirgrantha on the other hand by Bhaṭṭotpala as 'Nagna' and by Buddhaghoṣa as 'Purimabhāgapaticchanna' (and Muṇḍa'). The statement of Bhaṭṭotpala, that the Ājīvika is Ekadaṇḍin, 'wearing a single staff', (in contrast to the triple staff of the Tedaṇḍika; see n. 27) is confirmed by Pali texts, in which this staff is called *vetta*[7] or *laṭṭhi*.[8] Bhaṭṭopalā's characterization of the Nirgranthas as naked, however, is in contradiction not only to Buddhaghoṣa, but also to earlier Buddhist sources, which equate Nirgrantha with Ekasāṭaka, 'wearing one garment'[9] The statement of

Buddhaghoṣa concerning the nakedness of the Ājīvikas, on the other hand, is based on canonical Pali texts.[10] In later times, however, this was no longer unambiguous; in a Sanskrit *kāvya*, for instance, an Ājīvika is visualized with the appearance of Jaṭila.[11]

With regard to the Nirgranthas and the Ājīvikas as the most frequently quoted 'hertics', the Nirgrathas reappear in a famous Buddhist *tīrthya* list, which quotes six teachers (*śāstāraḥ*) with their teachings: Pūraṇa Kāśyapa, Maskarin Gosālīputra, Saṃjayin Vairāṭṭiputra, Ajita Keśakambala, Kakuda Kātyāyana and Nirgrantha Jñātiputra.[12] While the community of the Nirgranthas is clearly indicated in this list by their teacher Nirgrantha Jñātiputra, the question arises, which of the other five teachers may be connected with the community of the Ājīvakas? It is stated in Buddhist texts that Maskarin Gośālīputra was one of the heads of the Ājīvakas,[13] or that all the teachers with the exception of Nirgrantha Jñātiputra were Ājīvikas.[14] In these and in other texts[15] the community of the Ājīvikas is clearly differentiated from the Nirgranthas, while elsewhere a Nirgrantha is regarded as an Ājīvika[16] and Pūraṇa Kāśyapa[17] or Pūraṇa together with the other teachers[18] are called Nirgranthas.

Considering this confusion in the definition of the six teachers, it may be of some interest to look at the ' mark and signs'[19] of these 'heretics' as represented in Buddhist art.

The most famous Ājīvika in the Buddha legend is Upaga, who is said to have met the Buddha after his enlightenment.[20] In a painting of the Buddha's lifecycle in Ajanta (fig.1),[21] Upaga is represented as wearing an undergarment. In a partly mutilated Central Asian painting of the same event, however, Upaga seems to be naked (fig. 2).[22]

Another Ājīvika, whose name is not recorded in Buddhist literature, appears in the cycle of the Buddha's Parinirvāṇa. The text tells us that this Ājīvika, having picked up a Mandārava flower, met the venerable Mahākāśyapa on his way and informed him of the Buddha's death.[23] In some of the Parinirvāṇa representations in Gandhara art this event is depicted to the left of the Buddha, who is lying on his death bed. The naked Ājīvika in our relief (fig3)[24] is standing with the Mandārava flower in his right hand by the side of the monk Mahākāśyapa, who is represented as 'Ekadaṇḍin', viz. wearing a staff in his left hand. The Parivrājaka Subhadra is sitting below the deathbed of the Buddha. According to the text,[25] this Parivrājaka was the last person converted by the Buddha during his lifetime. Subhadra has his head covered, in coincidence with Buddhaghoṣa's explanation of a Parivrājaka.[26] Moreover, he is represented as á Tedaṇḍika, having

placed a triple staff with a pot[27] beside him.

In Buddhist art not only the Ājīvikas, but also the six 'heretical' teachers are represented, actually in the depictions of the Mahāprātihārya, the 'Great Miracle' at Śrāvasti. According to the statement of Buddhist literature, the Buddha was requested by king Prasenajit to demonstrate his superior meditative power in order to blame the Tīrthyas.[28] In the presence of the king and of the six teachers with their followers the Buddha performed a number of different miracles. As the most prominent of these mirales, the Buddha displayed the pouring out of water and fire from his body and afterwards the multiplication of his body by emanating inumerable Buddha figures (buddhapiṇḍī), which filled the space up to heaven.

A representation of this miracle in Gandhara (fig.4)[29] shows the Buddha in the centre; king Prasenajit and his followers are arranged on his left, the Tīrthyas on the right side. The Buddha has risen upwards; water is streaming out from his feet and fire from his shoulders. While, according to the text, this miracle belongs to the first phase of the performance, the representation of the Tīrthyas on the rights side refers to an event in the end phase of the Mahāprāihārya. The Yakṣa Pāñcāka rushes against the heretics, in order to sweep over their pavilions by a rainstorm.[30] The representative of the Tīrthyas, which may be identified as Pūrāṇa Kāśyapa, is shown naked in the *maṇḍapa*, while another person, standing on the roof of the *maṇḍapa* with a disciple, is dressed like a Brahmin. The nakedness of the predominant Tīrthya teacher is in coincidence with the representations of the Buddhapiṇḍī in Sarnath, where the Tīrthyas below the miracle-performing Buddha are represented by a thick-bellied naked ascetic, who - seeing the miracle of the Buddha-emanations - is falling down in distress and is supported by an attendant (fig.5).[31]

All painted representations of the Mahāprātihārya in Ajanta[32] show the same arrangement of the figures. The miracle - performing Buddha is sitting in the centre, the space around and above him is filled with the Buddha-emanations. King Prasenajit with his followers, preserved in cave XVI and XVII, is sitting on the left side, the Tīrthyas, preserved in cave VI, XVI and XVII, are standing on the right side below. As the number of these Tīrthyas in all paintings is more than six, we must assume, that not only the teachers themselves, but also some of their disciples are represented. As indicated by the text in an abridged form,[33] the Tīrthyas seeing the miracle show all signs of distress.

Only in cave XVII (fig.5) has the artist clearly differentiated the

varying 'marks and signs' of the teachers: the man standing in the foreground, who is supported by two attendants, may be identified with Pūraṇa Kāśyapa. In consonance with the literature[34] Pūraṇa is completely naked. The persons standing behind him are Nirgrantha Jñātiputra with a disciple, characterized by their brooms as Jain monks. The persons to the right wearing blankets may be Ajita Kaśakambala and his disciples. It is said that Ajita bore his name Kaśakambala because he wore a blanket of human hair.[36] The person to the left of the Jaina monks clearly represents Maskarin Gośālīputra. He may also be naked, as told in Pali literature[37]; his characteristic sign, however, is the staff and the picture he carries, both features resulting from his name, which is connected as well with *maskara*, the bamboo staff of a mendicant,[38] as also with *mankha*, - in Jaina texts the name of a class of beggars carrying picture-boards in their hands.[39] In our painting, the picture carried along by Maskarin shows the indistinct face of some deity. It is not a canvas (*paṭṭa*) as carried around by many picture-showmen in ancient India, but, - in coincidence with the texts, -- a board (phalaka), which in our picture is combined with a bell. Unfortunately, the identification of the other two Tīrthyas, viz. Saṃjayin Vairaṭṭiputra and Kakuda Kātyāyana remains uncertain. The curious *sikhā* (or horn?) visible to the left of the Pūraṇa Kāśyapa-group may belong to a person, which perhaps could be identified with Kakuda Kātyāyana. The man in the foreground with an amulet and a broom may have been meant by the artist as representing Samjayin Vairaṭṭiputra. However, no literary references of the *tīrthikaliṅgas* of these two teachers are known to me.

Pl.I: Ājīvikas in representations of the Buddha legend

Fig.1: Ajanta, Cave XVI



Buddha   Ājīvika Upaga

Fig.2: Kizil, Cave 110



Buddha   Ājīvika Upaga

Fig.3: Gandhara, Freer Gallery of Art, 49.96



Mahākāśyapa Ājīvika   Subhadra

Pl.II: Anyatīrthikas in representations of the Mahāprātihārya

Fig.4: Gandhara, Lahore Mus. 2124+1601

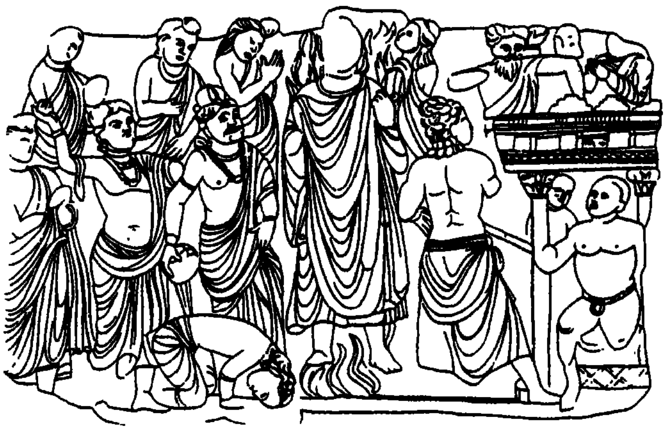


Fig.5: Sarnath

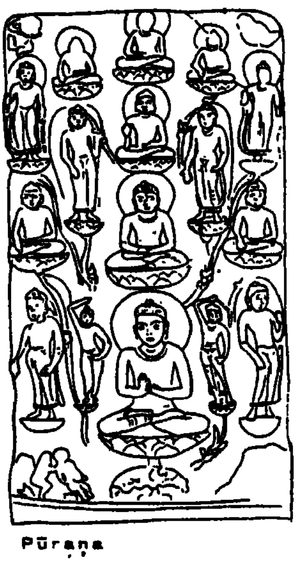
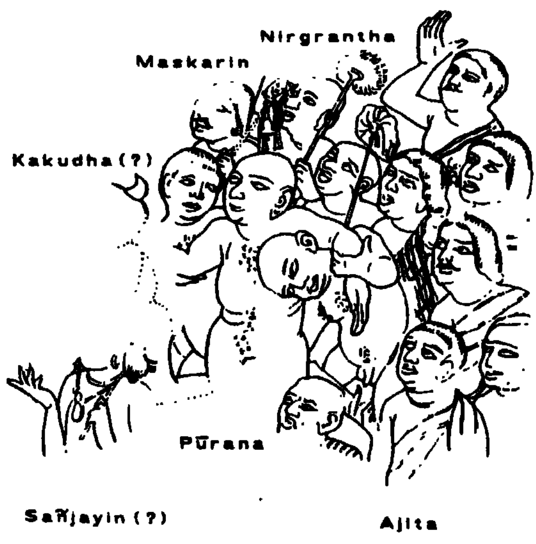


Fig.6: Ajanta, Cave XVII



NOTES

1. Other names are *tīrthika, tīrthyaka, paratīthika, anyatīrthika*; Pali *titthiya, aññatitthiya, ñānātitthiya, puthutitthiya.*
2. *Aṅguttaranikāya*, III, p. 276, 33
3. *Lalitavistara*, p. 380, 12f. The same list without Vṛddhaśrāvaka and Gautama in *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, p. 236. 1.
4. *Bṛhajjātaka*, XV, 1 ; ed. p. 258f.
5. *Manorathapūraṇī*, III, p. 334, 9-14.
6. Already in Aśoka, 7th pillar-Edict ; ed. p. 132: *b ābhanesu ājīvikesu .... niganṭhesu .... nānāpāsaṇḍesu.*
7. *Jātaka*, III, p. 541, 19: *vettācāro*
8. *Therīgāthā*, V. 291; ed. p. 151 *laṭṭhihattha.*
9. *Aṅguttaranikāya*, III, p. 383, 28: *Nigaṇṭhā Ekasāṭakā*. Ekasāṭakā is explained by Buddhaghoṣa in *Manorathapūraṇi*, III, p. 394, 2f.: *eken' eva pilotikakhaṇḍena purato paṭicchādanakā.*
10. See, e.g., *Suttavibhaṅga*, VI, 2, 3, 2 ; ed. p. 212, 5, 7: naggā ....Ājīvakā.
11. Kumāradāsa, *Jānakiharaṇa*, X, 76: Dambhājīvikam uttuṅgajaṭāmaṇḍita-mastakam, Kañcin maskariṇam sitā dadarśāśramam āgatam.
12. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 143 ; *Avadānaśataka*, p. 231 ; *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 253 ; III, p. 383 ; *Mahāvyutpatti*, 3545-50; etc. In Pali, the names are quoted in a slight other order: Pūraṇo Kassapo, Makkhali Gosālo, Ajito Kesakambalī, Pakudho Kaccāyana, Nigantho Nātaputto, Sañjayo Belaṭṭhiputto; see *Dīghanikāya*, I, 48ff.; II, p. 150ff ; *Majjhimanikāya*, I, p. 198 ; II, p. 2 ; *Saṃyuttanikāya*, I, p. 68 ; IV. p. 398 ; etc.
13. *Majjhimanikāya*, I, p. 524, 1-4 ; Ime pan, Ājīvikā.... tayoc' eva niyyātāro paññapenti, seyyathidaṃ Nandaṃ, Vacchaṃ, Kisaṃ Sankiccaṃ Makkhaliṃ Gosālan ti.
14. *Paramatthajotikā*, II, p. 372, 10f.: Pūraṇkassapādayo cha satthāro, tattha Nāthaputto Nigaṇṭha, avasesā Ājīvikā.
15. *Suttanipāta*, V. 381 ; ed. p. 67, 9-40 ; Ye kec' ime titthiyā vādasīlā, Ājīvikā vā yadi vā Nigaṇṭhā.
16. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 427, 2-7: Puṇḍravardhanagare.... Buddhapratimā Nigranthasya pādoyor nipatitā.... Puṇḍravardhane sarve Ājīvikāḥ praghātayitavyāḥ.
17. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 165, 14-16: Pūraṇo Nirgrantho ..... Kālagataḥ, Atha te Nirgranthāḥ Pūraṇaṃ mṛgayamāṇāḥ.
18. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 155, 19f.: Anyatīrthikaśrāvakair api Puraṇādinam Nirgranthānāṃ pratyekapratyekamaṇḍapaḥ kāritaḥ.
19. E.g. *Lalitavistara*, p. 409, 17f.: tīrthikaliṅgaṃ tīrthikadhvajaḥ.
20. The Upaga-episode is told in Pali *Majjhimanikāya*, Nr. 25: ed. I, p. 170, p. 171, 17; *Nidānakathā*, p. 81, 24f. in Sanskrit

Catuṣpariṣatsūtra, 10, 1-11 ; ed. p. 127-33 ; *Mahāvastu*, III, p. 325, 12-p. 327, 17 ; *Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya*, I, p. 131, 23-p. 132, 26 ; *Buddhacarita*, XV, v. 1-13; transl. p. 28-30; and in several Chinese translations.

21. Cave XVI, main hall, right well; reprod. in: Griffiths, 1896. Pl. 50 (oil copy) ; Schlingloff, 1987, p. 346, fig. 1, 31 (drawing).
22. Kizil, Cave 110, " Treppenhöhle", right wall, picture 36: reprot. in: Le Coq. III, 1924, Pl. 7. Yaldiz, 1987. Pl. 49;
23. Pali *Dīghanikāya* XVI, 6. 18; ed. II. 162. 11-15: aññataro Ājīvako Kusinārāya mandāravapuppham gahatvā Pāvaṃ addhānamagga-paṭipanno hoti. Addasā kho āyasmā Mahākassapo Ājīvakam durato 'va āgacchantam, disvā tam Ājīvakaṃ stad avoca. Sanskrit *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, 48.1 ; ed. p. 420.
24. Freer Gallery of Art, 49.96 ; reprod. in: Lippe, 1970, fig. 16 ; Ebert, 1985, fig. 28; Kurita, I, 1988, fig. 483.
25. *Dīghanikāya*, XVI, 5, 24 ; ed. II. p. 150, 21-24: Atha kho Subhaddo paribbājaka yana Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami .... ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Sanskrit *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, 40, 22 ; ed. p. 374.
26. Paribbājako ti channaparibbājako ; see n. 5 above.
27. See *Jātaka*, II, p. 317, 3-4: tedaṇḍika ti kuṇḍikaṃ ṭhapanatthāya tidaṇḍaṃ gahetva caranto.
28. There are numerious references to the Srāvastī miracle in Buddhist literature. The text, however, which is the literary source of all representations (with the exception of old reliefs in Bharhut and Sanchi) is the Pratihāryasūtra, *Dīvyāvadāna*, Nr. XVII ; ed. p. 143-56.
29. Sikri ; Karachi, Nat. Mus. (formerly Lahore Mus. 1601 2124): reprod. In: Foucher, I, 1905, fig. 261 (only 2124) ("Conflit des hérétiques nus") ; Ingholt, 1957, fig. 116 ("Sumāgadhā and the Naked Ascetic (right), The Buddha Descending from the Trayastriṃsa Heaven") ; Taddei, 1985. fig. 1 (p. 274 ; " the figure seen from behind in the act of striking a 'heretic' is not a woman but a vigorous and muscular young man .... I am not in a position to suggest a convincing literary reference.") ; Kurita, I, 1988. fig. 373.
30. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 163, 18-23: Pāñcika mahāsenāpatis.... tumulaṃ vātavarṣam saṃjanya mahāntam utsṛaṭavān tumulena vātavarṣeṇa tīrthyānāṃ maṇḍapā 'darśanapatha kṣiptāḥ.
31. Calcutta, Indian Museum, S.S. ; reprod. in: Banerji, 1954, fig. 4 ; Silva-Vigier, 1956, fig. 94; Mitra, 1971, fig. 14 ; Williams, 1975, fig. 8; Parimoo, 1982, fig. 87.
32. Cave I, Antechamber, right wall ; reprod. in: Griffiths, 1896, Pl. 15; Yazdani, Pt. I, 1930, Pl. 23b ; Takata, 1971, Pl, 93. cave II, back corridor, left wall; reprod. in Yazdani, Pt. II, 1933. Pl. 27;

Pt. II. 1933, text, Appendix, Pl. 6 (detail) ; Takata, 1971, Pl. 124; Brown, 1984, fig. 8. Cave VI, Antechamber, left wall ; reprod. in: Yazdani, Pt. III. 1946, Pl. 2 a ; Singh, 1965, Pl. 45 (detail). Cave XVI, back corridor, left wall; reprod. in: Yazdani, Pt. III, 1946, Pl. 56, c, d, ; Pl. 57. a, b (tracing). Cave XVII, Antechamber, right wall; reprod. in: Yazdani, Pt. IV, 1955. Pl. 43 ; Pratinidhi, 1932, Pl. 73, Pl, 74 ; Takata, 1971, Pl. 39.

33. *Divyāvadāna* p. 163, 12 ; Tirthyās tūṣṇīṃ bhūtā yāvat prayānaparamāḥ sthitāḥ.
34. *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, I, p. 142 tells us that Pūraṇa Kassapa had his clothes stolen by thieves and went about naked.
35. The broom is called *rajoharaṇa* or *pāyapuñchaṇa* in Jaina literature.
36. *Paramatthajotikā*, II, p. 423, 6f.: Ajito ti nāmam, appicchatāya kesakambalaṃ dhāresi, tena kesakambalī ti vuccati ; cf. also *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, I, p. 144 7f.
37. *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, I, p. 144. 4: so sāṭakaṃ chaḍḍetvā acelako hutvā palāyi.
38. While the Pali commentator gives curious interpretation of the Pali form of the name (*Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, I, p. 143f.: Makkhalīti tassa nāmaṃ...., tam kira sakaddamāya bhūmiyā telaghaṭaṃ gahetvā gacchantaṃ' Tāta mā khalīti sāmiko āha, so pamādena khalitvā patitvā), the right interpretation is already given in the Aṣṭadhyāyī of Pāṇini VI, 1, 154 ; ed. p. 302: *maskaramaskariṇau veṇuparivrājakayoḥ*.
39. Ṭīkā of Abhayadeva on *Bhagavatīsutra*, p. 660: Maṅkhaḥ citraphalakavyagrakaro bhikṣukaviśeṣaḥ. Gosāla's father was a Maṅkha, *Bhagavatīsūtra*, p. 1204-05: Gosālasa Maṃkhaliputtassa... pitā.... cittaphalagahatthagae Maṃkhattaṇeṇaṃ appāṇaṃ bhāvemāṇe viharati. When Gosala met with Mahāvira, he stripped off his upper and lower garments and gave them his waterpots, slippers and a picture-board to a *brāhmaṇa*, *Bhagavatīsūtra*, p. 262 ; Sādiyāo ya pāḍiyāo ya kuṇḍiyāo ya pāhaṇāo ya cittaphalagaṃ ca māhaṇe āyāmettā.

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A Few Prakrit Inscriptions from South-East Asia

B.N. Mukherjee

The recently noticed and deciphered inscriptions from West Bengal written in Kharoshṭī and in many cases in a mixed script, consisting of Kharoshṭī and Brāhmī letters, indicate that trading communities hailing from the northwestern part of the Indian subcontinent migrated to the territory now in lower West Bengal and became very active as traders from about the last quarter of the Ist century A.D. to about the beginning of the 5th century A.D. Their main settlements were in the region of Chandraketugarh in the district of 24 Parganas (North) and perhaps in the area of Tamluk in the Midnapore district. These were then within the limits of Vaṅga. These trading communities had maritime commerce with South-East Asia. They used to supply *inter alia* Central Asian horses. They were known as Yüeh-Chih, since they had originally come from the domain of the Yüeh-Chih or the Kushāṇas. Among them there could have been people hailing from the northwest with or without any ethnic connection with the Kushāṇas. However, all of them used in the territory of lower West Bengal the NorthWestern Prakrit as their language. It was written either in Kharoshṭī (imported from the north-west) or in a mixed script consisting of Kharoshṭī and Brāhmī letters (evolved by the immigrants in their new habitats in ancient Vaṅga).[1]

In the light of the above data a seal-matrix made of tin assumes significance. It was unearthed at Oc-éo. The rectangular shaped matrix measures O.018 X 0.114 m. Its thickness is 0.008m. The letters, engraved on it in reverse, were considered by G. Coédes as belonging to the Brāhmī script. He thought that the inscription consisted of one line and read it as *apramāda* (*apramādam*)[2] (fig. 1).

Coédes did not notice the second line of the legend. Since the characters belong to a matrix, these are engraved in reverse and from right to left to ensure their correct forms in the stamped impression. Keeping this feature in mind the first letter can be read as Brāhmī *a*.

Coédes read the second letter as *pra* of the Brāhmī script. But there is really no distinguishing stroke for indicating subscript *r*. The straight line attached to the lower portion of the left vertical line of the character, which may be taken as *pa*, can be considered a stroke for medial *u*. In that case the character is *pu*. However, it can also be read as the letter *ḍa* of the Kharoshṭī script. The third letter is Brāhmī *ma* with a sign for medial *i*. The fourth one appears more like a Kharoshṭī *ha* than a Brāhmī *da*. The first two letters of the second line are easily decipherable as Brāhmī *ra* and *na*. But no letter in the Brāhmī script looking like the third character (from the right) of the second line is known. On the other hand, it can be easily read as the letter called *shin* in Aramaic and Iranian alphabets (like Parthian). The letter is now known to have been employed also by the Kharoshṭī using immigrants in ancient Vaṅga (though it does not occur in the Kharoshṭī documents discovered so far in the northwestern section of the subcontinent).[3]

The last character of the seal inscription thus proves that it is in a mixed script consisting of Kharoshtī and Brāhmī letters. The feasibility of the use of such a script has already been proved by the discovery of a large number of short inscriptions in Kharoshtī- Brāhmī in lower West Bengal.[4]

The inscription can now be a read as *Apumidaranaša* (taking the second and the fourth letters of the first line as Brāhmī) or, more meaningfully, as *Aḍamiharan(a)š*. The latter can be accepted as the Prakrit rendering of the Iranian expression *Artamihrnš*, meaning the "King (or Lord) (š' sayathiya) of the Artamihr (family)". While the Iranian word *arta* literally means "law" or "justice", the term *mihr* (<*mithra*) can signify "a deity (sun)", or "a friend."[5]

Thus the reading *Aḍamiharan(a)š'* is meaningful. Again, as it is not unexpected in a seal inscription, the reading may allude to a personal name. Such proper names as Vakamihira, Yolamira, Miraboyana, etc. are known from epigraphic records.[6]

No doubt, one may argue that the alternative reading *Apumidoranaš* may be taken as a personal name. Even in that case, the last letter is to be taken as a non-Brāhmī character.

Thus there is no doubt that the seal inscription is in a mixed script, consisting of Kharoshṭī and Brāhmī letters. Since the Kharoshṭī-Brāhmī script was used by the trading communities from the northwest settled in Vaṅga in the early centuries of the Christian Era, the discovery of a Kharoshṭī-Brāhmī inscriptions at Oc-éo should indicate their connection with that locality. As the inscription concerned is on tin, which should have been available in the area of Oc-éo,[7] the seal-



Fig.1: A Few Prakrit Inscriptions from S.E.Asia



Fig.2: A Few Kharoshṭi-Brāhmī Inscriptions from S.E.Asia



Fig.3: A Few Prakrit Inscriptions from S.E.Asia

matrix was probably done locally. This suggests the presence of Kharoshṭī- Brāhmī using people (traders) in that market town. This inference is supported by the discovery of the representation of a male head in tin at Oc-éo, bearing affinity to the head of the Kushāṇa ruler Miaos on his coins.[8] Figures with Iranian headdresses are noticeable on some engraved gems found at Oc-éo.[9] The Kharoshṭī-Brāhmī using communities, hailing originally from the northwest, came from an area which had been included in the Yüeh-chih or Kushāṇa domain. So they could have been generally known as Yüeh-chih. Among them there could have been Yüeh-chih and Iranian ethnic elements.

The evidence from Oc-éo alludes to the presence of members of such communities. It is interesting to note that Ptolemy noted in about the middle of the 2nd century A.D. a place called Thagora on the Great Gulf, identifiable with the Gulf of Thailand, and somewhere above a promontory on the Gulf (present Mui Bai-Bung).[10] So Thagora should have been at or not far from the site of Oc-éo. As we have suggested elsewhere, the name Thagora, i.e. Tukhāra, indicates a settlement of the Tukhāras in a locality included in ancient Fu-nan. The Tukhāras were identical with or closely related to the Yüeh-chih.[11] So the communities hailing from north-western India and settled in Vaṅga could have been known as Tukhāra as well as Yüeh-chih. It is significant that in about the middle of the 3rd century A.D. K'ang T'ai heard at the court of Fu-nan about the Yüeh-chih traders selling horses.[12]

Thus the Kharoshṭī using trading communities in Vaṅga not only had trade relations with South-East Asia, but they also reached Fu-nan and had established a settlement there by about the middle of 2nd century A.D. With them the habit of using the mixed Kharoshṭī-Brāhmī script and Prakrit reached Fu-nan.

A Kharoshṭī- Brāhmī inscription appears in a small seal impression unearthed at U Thong in Central Thailand. It is now in the Lopburi Museum, Thailand. I am obliged to Dr. Himanshu Prabha Ray of New Delhi for giving me the necessary information about the sealing and for supplying its photographs, which she had taken with the kind permission of the Director-General of the Fine Arts Department of Thailand.

The oval shaped sealing displays as male(?) figure sitting on a backless chair or stool. He sits with his body facing one-fourth to front and the rest to right (i.e. to his left). The head is turned to right i.e. to its left). The right hand hangs down, while the left hand is stretched out. The latter is perhaps holding an indistinct object, (fig.2).

There is an inscription on the edge of the sealing which can be meaningfully read only from the inside. The first letter from the right is Kharoshṭī *ḍha*, and the first character from the left is Kharoshṭī *va*. Hence the legend should be read, as it is usual with Kharoshṭī writings, from right to left. In that case the first letter is Kharoshṭī *ḍha*. The second and third characters are Brāhmī *ta* and *'a* respectively. The last letter is, as noted above, Kharoshṭī *va*, Its form is similar to that of the same letter in the Palatu Dheri inscription (no. C)[13] (fig. 2).

The legend can now be read as *Ḍhata'va*. Palaeographically the inscription may be dated to the 4th-5th century A.D. (as indicated especially by the form of Brāhmī *ta*).[14]

The legend *Ḍhata'va* (= *Dhṛitayavaḥ*) may literally mean "the holder of (or adherent to) speed." It may also be translated as "the holder a barley-corn", taking the uncertain object held in one of the hands of the male figure as a grain of barely.[15] Otherwise, the legend may be taken as referring to a personal name.[16]

A fragmentary graffito is noticeable on a potshered unearthed during an excavation at Sembiram in the Tejakula district of Bali (Indonesia).[17] The surviving letters are in Kharoshṭī and may be read from right to left as *To śavi* ... (fig. 3). Palaeographically the fragmentary graffito can be dated to c. 2nd century A.D.[18] I.W. Ardika and P. Bellwood, the excavators, believe that the potshered was originally a part of an open dish-like vessel imported from outside (India)[19]. Even if it was an imported item its evidence indicates contact of Bali with some Kharoshṭī using people.

The above data suggest that Kharoshṭī and Kharoshṭī-Brāhmī scripts and the Prakrit language were used among certain communities in some localities of South-East Asia in the early centuries of the Christian era. Such communities might have hailed from India, especially Vaṅga. They were probably connected with international trade. Thus the scripts and Prakrit reached South-East Asia in the wake of the activities of the traders.

NOTES

1. B.N. Mukherjee, *Economic Factors in Kushāṇa History* (cited below as *EFKH*), Calcutta, 1970, pp. 37-38; *Kharoshṭī and Kharoshṭī-Brāhmī Inscriptions in West Bengal (India)*, Calcutta, 1990. (cited below as *KKBIWB*), pp. 9f, 33-35 and 65-67.
2. L, Malleret, *L'Archaeologie du Delta du Mekong*, vol.II, Paris, 1960, p. 383; III, Paris, 1962, pl. LXI, no. 652.

3. *KKBIWB*, p. 63 and pl. IV.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 44f.
5. R.G. Kent, *Old Persian, Grammar, Texts, Lexicon*, 2nd edition, Connecticut, 1953, pp. 170, 181 and 203; G.D. Davary, *Baktrisch, Ein Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1982, pp. 230 and 274.
6. G.D. Davary, *op. cit.*, p. 231.
7. A Malleret, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 265-271.
8. Ibid., vol. III, pl. XCVIII-C; B.N. Mukherjee, *Kushāṇa Silver Coinage*, Calcutta, 1982, pl. I no. 6.
9. A Malleret, *op. cit.*, vii. III, pl. LXVI, no. 1274; pl. LXXIII, no. 1315.
10. Ptolemy, *Geographike Huphegesis*, VII, 2, 7.
11. *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, 1974, p. 143.
12. *EFKH*. p. 37.
13. S. Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. II, pl. I, *Kharoshṭī Inscriptions with the Exception of Those of Asoka*, Calcutta, 1929, pl. XXIII.
14. A.H. Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, Oxford, 1963, pl. X A.
15. This suggestions was kindly communicated to me by Dr. S.C. Banerji.
16. *The Asiatic Society, Monthly Bulletin*, December, 1990. p. 2.
17. I.W. Ardika and P. Bellwood, " Sembiran: the beginnings of Indian contact with Bali", *Antiquity*, vol. 65, no. 247, p. 225.
18. See also *ibid.*, p. 229.
19. *KKBIWB*, pp. 16f and 33-35. It is interesting to note that some seals unearthed in Thailand bear legends in early Brāhmī characters. The characters of at least some of these Brāhmī inscriptions are of East Indian variety.

Brahmanism versus Buddhism: A Perspective of Language Attitudes

Maḍhav M. Deshpande

1. Introduction

1.1. In my 1979 monograph *Sociolinguistic Attitudes in India: An Historical Reconstruction*, I have discussed in detail several questions relating to the social attitudes connected with the use of various Indo-Aryan languages in their historical development. As Emeneau points out[1], "In the earliest period, speakers of Indo-Aryan—Vedic and living Sanskrit—were concerned with neighbouring languages, whether they were other varieties of Indo-Aryan or were non-Indo-Aryan; the historical dimension had hardly yet come into play. Thereafter, when Sanskrit was no longer a living language but was a language of high prestige that had ceased to be anyone's first language, the concern was essentially an evaluation of various vernaculars as against the classical language. The situation was complicated by the circumstance that some 'protestant' communities combined an adversary position on the language with an adversary stance against the religious and social doctrines and practices of Hinduism". In the present paper, we shall review some of the major dimensions of these linguistic, socio-linguistic and philosophical disagreements between Brahmanism and Buddhism.

2. Attitudes in Pre-Buddhist India

2.1. We will briefly review the sociolinguistic situation prior to the emergence of Jainism and Buddhism in ancient India. The literary record of India begins with *Ṛgveda*, which is primarily a collection of hymns in praise of Aryan gods composed by various priests who served different Aryan clans and their kings. Certain Aryan clans gradually moved into India from the northwest around the middle of the second

millennium BC. At the time they entered India and confronted the indigenous peoples whom they called Dāsas and Dasyus, their sociolinguistic attitudes were fairly simple. Though they had already confronted and perhaps partially converged with non-Aryan peoples in Iran and elsewhere, they had a pervasive notion of their own ethnic identity as Aryans. They glorified their Aryan language as being divine and produced by the gods themselves.

2.2. The Aryans generally looked at the mass of non-Aryans as substandard human beings, godless non-sacrificers (*adeva, ayajyu*), worshippers of dummy gods (*mūradeva*) and phallic gods (*śiśnadeva*), and those whose language was obscure and unintelligible (*mṛdhravācah*). The non-Aryan languages could not have pleased the Aryan gods, and hence were held to be ritually inferior. As the Vedic Aryans gradually moved into the interior of India, they began adjusting themselves to the local scene.[2] Through contracts and convergence with non-Aryan languages and through internal propensities of its own, the old Indo-Aryan language of the Vedic texts slowly became archaic, and was replaced by new vernacular forms of the Indo-Aryan languages. This probably forced the Aryans to look at the sacred old Aryan language and their own current form of language more carefully. The end of this stage is marked by the great grammarian Pāṇini (about 500 B.C.). Pāṇini calls what we call Sanskrit simply *bhāṣā* "language". A distinction is made in his grammar between bhāṣā "the colloquial language' and *chandas* "the language of the Vedic texts." To be more specific, these two are viewed as being distinct sub-domains of a unified Sanskrit language. While literally the term *bhāṣā* stands for "language", in fact it actually refers to the upper-class language, in relation to which other forms of Indo-Aryan and non-Aryan languages were viewed as being substandard (*apaśabda, apabhraṃśa*), as those peoples themselves were placed lower in the social hierarchy (*aśiṣṭa*).

2.3. According to the Puranic records, Pāṇini was the contemporary of a king named Mahāpadma Nanda, who is described as a Śūdra who destroyed all true Kṣatriyas, members of the warrior and kingly class, who according to Brahmanical notions are alone fit to be rulers. To speak of Kṣatriyas being destroyed by Śūdra chieftains probably refers to their mixed origin and/or their anti-Brahmanical attitudes. At any rate, as the Śūdra rulers became very powerful, their "substandard" dialects must also have gained in prestige. This period roughly corresponds to the rise of Buddhism and Jainism, and the insistence of these two faiths in using the local vernacular languages in preference to Sanskrit may be related to changes of this kind. The

founders of these two faiths, Buddha and Mahāvīra, both came from the eastern Kṣatriya clans that lie outside the Brahmanical region of Āryāvarta. The Maurya dynasty, which arose in this region, showed distinct preference for Buddhism and Jainism; during the reign of Aśoka Maurya, Buddhism received royal patronage and spread all over India and Śrī Laṅkā.

3. Competing Sociolinguistic Perspectives in India

3.1. Daṇḍin says in his *Kāvyādarśa*[3]: "In literature, the languages of Ābhīras etc. are considered to be Apabhraṃśa [i.e. the term is not applied to Prakrits]. On the other hand, in the (Brahmanical) sciences (such as Sanskrit grammar), anything other than Sanskrit is labelled Apabhraṃśa, 'degenerate'. Here we have a clear statement of the difference between the view held by orthodox Śāstra-authors such as the grammarians Kātyāyana and Patañjali on the one hand, and that held by the liberal poeticians on the other. Would it be appropriate to assume that the low prestige for Prakrits was a universally acknowledged fact in ancient India? This is analogous to the question concerning the relative prestige of Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas. Would it be appropriate to say that the higher status of the Brāhmaṇas was universally acknowledged by the Kṣatriyas of ancient India? This question, as we shall see, has a central bearing upon the linguistic tension between early Buddhism and traditional Brahmanism.

3.2. We must look at the testimony coming from various Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical texts as representing not the absolute standards of social prestige, but as representing dissenting views on social prestige. Even in a Brahmanical text such as the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, there is evidence of an ambivalent perception:[4] "Brahman, verily, was all this in the beginning. It being alone was not powerful enough. It created forth Kṣatra of an excellent form, i.e.—these Kṣatras among the gods, Indra, Varuṇa, Soma, Rudra, Parjanya, Yama, Mṛtyu and Īśāna. Therefore, there is nothing beyond the Kṣatra. Therefore a Brāhmaṇa takes his seat below the Kṣatriya at the Rājasūya sacrifice. He (the Brāhmaṇa) bestows that glory upon Kṣatra alone. This Brahman is the birth-place of Kṣatra". One can clearly see in this passage two concurrent images fused together. The physical fact is that the Brāhmaṇa priest sat below the king in the ceremony of Rājasūya, as he also obviously sat below the king at his court. This shows the true sociopolitical hierarchy. However, the Brāhmaṇa priest, in his own cosmological speculations, raises himself above the king and derives

the essence of kingship from his own Brahmanical essence. The Brāhmaṇa in his own opinion is a king-maker, without whose legitimizing force a king would not become a king. Thus the Brāhmaṇa, who sat below the king, thought that he must actually be superior to the king. Brahmanical texts such as *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad* make the Kṣatriya accept the superiority of the Brāhmaṇa[5]: "(The king) Ajātaśatru said (to the Brāhmaṇa Gārgya—'It seems to be reverse of the normal order (*pratiloma*) that a Brāhmaṇa should approach a Kṣatriya hoping that he may teach him about Brahman'." The authors of Brahmanical texts suggest that the normal order, the *anuloma* order, would place the Brāhmaṇa above the Kṣatriya. These texts represent the Brahmanical views of social prestige, even through the words of a Kṣatriya character.

3.3. Buddhist and Jaina texts of the early period provide us a counterbalance to this Brahmanical perspective. They provide us the Kṣatriya perspective. Both of these religions arose in the northeastern regions which were beyond the pale of Brahmanical Āryāvarta, and both the movements were initiated by Kṣatriyas rather than by Brāhmaṇas. The northeastern regions such as Māgadha were Brahmanized relatively very late, and in these regions, the power of Brahmanism remained relatively weak. Thus it is reasonable to expect the Kṣatriya-led revolts against Brahmanism to manifest in these regions. Thus, there are at least two dimensions to consider. We must contrast the Māgadhan attitudes with the more north-central or north-western attitudes towards language and culture. We must also contrast the Kṣatriya attitudes with the Brahmanical attitudes.

3.4. The Brahmanical literature shows that the Māgadha region was looked down upon. First, there is clear evidence for the West-to-East movement of Aryanism in the Brahmanical literature. The boundary between the pure Brahmanical region and the empire region slowly moves further in the eastern direction.[6]

The early Brahmanical literature also exhibits an opinion that the best speech is spoken in the north-west (*udīcyām diśi*).[7] The low opinion about the Māgadhan peoples and their customs is evident from references to the role of the Māgadha in Vedic ritual. The Māgadha, who is associated with the prostitute Puṃścali, copulates with her in public during Vedic rituals, and such customs are attributed to the traditions of the Vrātyas, the non-Vedic Aryans.[8] The Vedic literature does not present to us the voice of the Māgadha himself, but only what others thought about him. One can surmise that the Māgadha may not have thought of himself in such low terms, and probably had his own dis-

tinct ideas of social prestige. The epic *Mahābhārata* again represents this predominantly north-western attitude toward the northeastern region of Magadha. There is clearly a conflict between the Pāṇḍavas and Jarāsandha, the king of Magadha, who is often described as being demonic (*asura*), and had to be destroyed.[9] Thus, on the whole the Vedic and the epic literatures hold the eastern region in low esteem. The early Jaina and Buddhist literature provides the first evidence for the voice of the region of Magadha, besides the inscriptions of Aśoka. I have discussed the Jaina evidence elsewhere (Deshpande 1979a). Here, we shall focus on evidence from the Buddhist texts.

4. Sociolinguistic Attitudes in Early Buddhism

4.1. All evidence points to the fact that Buddha used his own Prakrit dialect to teach his doctrine. One of the obvious reasons is that he wanted to reach the masses, and this he could have done only by using the local dialect. He claims that his doctrine is for the benefit of the masses (*bahu-jana-hitāya bahujana-sukhāya*). B.C. Law (1933, p. xvi) cites the *Araṇavibhaṅgasutta* of the *Majjhimanikāya*: "Now a man of a particular locality, when he is in other localities where different names of the same thing are in vogue, knowing that in different localities different names of the same thing are used conventionally by the gentlemen, uses different names in different localities without any attachment to his own local form." This suggests Buddha's preference for local dialects. However, this does not mean and should not be interpreted to mean that Buddha used "lower" languages, which he would not have used otherwise, simply to reach the lower classes. Such a view would be quite misleading.

4.2. Buddha claimed to represent the Aryan way of life, as can be seen from dozens of expressions in the Buddhist canonical texts. For example, *ariya dhamma* "the Aryan doctrine", *ariya magga* "the Aryan path" etc. In all these cases, the word Aryan may be generally translated as "noble", but it is a loaded word. It represents an attempt on the part of Buddha to create and assert a new conception of Aryanhood, to combat the conservative concept held in the Brahmanical circles. On the higher philosophical plane, Buddha totally rejected hereditary caste rank. But on the lower social plane, Buddha asserted a social hierarchy different from that of the Brahmanical belief. He clearly asserts that Kṣatriyas are superior to Brāhmaṇas.[10] Thus, far from its being an inferior dialect, Buddha must have considered his own dialect to be superior to that of the Brāhmaṇas, as he considered his own Kṣatriya rank superior

to theirs.

4.3. We may look at the evidence for this conclusion in greater depth. There is clear evidence in canonical Pali texts to show that there was great tension between Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas and that they held essentially opposing conceptions about each other's social status. At the beginning of the famous *Mahāparinibbānasutta*, the Magadhan king Ajātaśatru is depicted as being desirous of attacking and destroying the Vajjins. He calls his Brāhmaṇa minister and says:[11] "Come, O Brāhmaṇa, and go where the lord (Buddha) is. Having approached the lord, salute the feet of the lord with my words, and then say: O lord, the Magadhan king Ajātasatru, the son of the princess of Videha, is desirous of attacking the Vajjins". In the original passage, the use of language is quite noteworthy. The king uses the second person singular forms *tvam*, *upasaṅkama*, *vadehi* etc. for his Brāhmaṇa minister Vassakāra, and uses the respectful words such as *bhagavat* for Buddha. The Brāhmaṇa minister having accepted the king's command then approaches Buddha and twists the king's words into his own words:[12] "O Gotama, the king Ajātasattu..." Here, the Brāhmaṇa minister, instead of using the appellation *bhagavat* for Buddha simply calls him "O Gotama". At the end of the interview, the Brāhmaṇa minister says:[13] "Now, O Gotama, we must go. We are very busy and we have a lot of work to do". The Brāhmaṇa uses a second person singular form for Buddha and uses a first person plural form for himself. Then watch Buddha's response:[14] "O you Brāhmaṇa, (do) whatever you think the time is appropriate for". Buddha uses a second person singular form for the Brāhmaṇa minister. While such passages are clearly no recordings of actual conversations between these historical individuals, they show a great deal of sociolinguistic understanding on the part of the compilers of the Buddhist canon. The Brāhmaṇa and Buddha clearly held opposing perspectives of respect for each other. The *Ambaṭṭhasutta* of the *Dīghanikāya* contains Buddha's dialectic which argues that socially the Brāhmaṇas are lower than the Kṣatriyas. Buddha argues that if there is a son born of a Kṣatriya man and a Brāhmaṇa woman, the Brāhmaṇas would accept him as an equal and teach him the Vedas etc., but the Kṣatriyas would never make him a king. According to him, the same would happen to a son born of a Brāhmaṇa man and a Kṣatriya woman.[15] In conclusion of this argument, Buddha says:[16] "O Ambaṭṭha, thus even when a Kṣatriya reaches an extremely fallen state, even then Kṣatriyas alone are superior and Brāhmaṇas are inferior. Among people who are concerned about birth, the Kṣatriya is superior".

4.4. This idea of Kṣatriyas being superior to Brāhmaṇas is main-

tained in the canonical Buddhist literature even in irrelevant contexts to a textually ridiculous extent. In the same *Ambaṭṭhasutta*, the Brāhmaṇa Ambaṭṭha is complaining to Buddha that Brāhmaṇas alone are superior to the rest of the Varṇas, and yet the Śākyas do not respect them. One would expect that in the mouth of this irate Brāhmaṇa, the list of the four castes would have Brāhmaṇas at the top. However, the monastic compilers of the Buddhist canon inserted the standard Buddhist list of the four castes as: Kṣatriya, Brāhmaṇa, Vaiśya and Śūdra.[17] The *Poṭṭhapādasutta* of *Dīghanikāya* contains a passage where Buddha talks about a person who is in love with a girl but does not know whether she is Kṣatriya, Brāhmaṇa, Vaiśya or Śūdra.[18] In the *Mahāparinibbhānasutta*, Buddha lists eight assemblies, and the list begins with *khattiya-parisā* and *brāhmaṇa-pariṣā* in this very order.[19] Interestingly, at the concluding event of Buddha's life, his cremation, his followers and the assembled folks quarrel for his remains citing the fact that they were Kṣatriyas and that he was a Kṣatriya and that therefore they had a greater claim to his remains.[20] Ironically, it is the Brāhmaṇa Doṇa who is called upon to mediate in this conflict among the assembled Kṣatriyas.

4.5. From the above evidence, which can be multiplied considerably if one combs through the entire Buddhist canonical literature, one may confidently claim that the early Buddhists held a view of social hierarchy which was opposite of the view held by the Brāhmaṇas. The same may then be extended to the language used by Buddha. The Prakrit which he used to preach was in all probability no lowly language in his own view. It must have been, in his own estimation superior to the Sanskrit of the Brāhmaṇas.

4.6. Buddha advises his monks that they should teach the doctrine in their own language (*sakāya niruttiyā*). It is reported in different Buddhist texts that monks who were of Brahmanical origin showed concern that the Prakrit-speaking monks of diverse origins would corrupt the sayings of Buddha, and that they asked his permission to render his words into Sanskrit.[21] The Brāhmaṇa monks were worried that the non-Brāhmaṇa monks who made "mistakes" in the use of genders, numbers and tenses, and in pronunciation, were sure to corrupt the words of Buddha. If such pleas are historically true, they certainly indicate that Brāhmaṇas, even those who had been converted to Buddhism, could not leave behind many of their Brahmanical sociolinguistic attitudes. It is likely that this story is constructed by the early Buddhist monks who thereby wanted to emphasize their fear that any attempts to render Buddha's words into Sanskrit originate in Brahmanical intentions to

subvert the Buddhist faith from within. Buddha is said to have rejected these pleas and to have ordained that everyone should use his own particular dialect in reciting the sacred texts.

4.7. To sum up the attitudes of the early Buddhists as seen in the Pali literature:[22]

a) Kṣatriyas are superior to Brāhmaṇas in social matters.
b) Māgadhī, the Prakrit dialect of Māgadha is superior to all other languages.
c) Sanskrit (or *Chandas* = the language of the Vedas) was not to be used to render Buddha's words. However, the local Prakrit dialects could be used to render Buddha's words.
d) There was no positive value attached to Vedic texts, nor were the authors of Vedic hymns (*mantānaṃ kattaro isayo*) particularly authoritative as knowers of truth. The Vedas were not viewed by the Buddhists as eternal texts, but were viewed as being works of human authors, who were not particularly knowledgeable.[23]
e) Buddha's words attained the status of a scripture, and Buddha, a human being, was viewed as being an omniscient person.

5. Brahmanical Response to Buddhist Attitudes

5.1. The early Brahmanical response to the Buddhist (and the Jaina) movements is not seen in explicit statements of any particular texts, but needs to be inferred from indirect evidence. This evidence comes from several sources:

a) Response of the Mīmāṃsakas.
b) Response of the Sanskrit Grammarians.

I have considered the evidence from the Purāṇas elsewhere.[24] The Purāṇas do not deal with the question of language, but point to post-Mauryan attitudes among the Hindus. The main feature of this Puranic evidence is that it elevates Buddha to the status of an incarnation of Viṣṇu. This particular theme asserts that Viṣṇu appeared as Buddha to teach false doctrines to the Asuras so that they will be doomed for ever. One can read into such accounts a possible reference to the overthrow of the Mauryas by the Brāhmanical Śuṅgas. The Purāṇas also claim that, beginning with the Nandas, there will no true Kṣatriya kings, but that

Śūdras will achieve kingship. It is a doomsday perception of history.

5.2. The response of the Mīmāṃsakas may be seen in two phases. Jaimini's *Mīmāṃsāsūtras* may be considered to be the early Mīmāṃsā response. The later Mīmāṃsā response is found in the works of Śabara and Kumārila. While Jaimini does not refer directly to Buddhism, and this pattern of not referring directly to Buddhism is common to all early Hindu literature, one can make certain hypotheses regarding the Mīmāṃsā position on language. The Mīmāṃsā view of the Vedas is that the Vedas are not human creations (*apauruṣeya*), but that they exist independently of any human authors. Sanskrit is an eternal language, and that the connection of words with their meanings is an inborn eternal connection. This position may be seen as an argument to counter the Buddhist view of the Vedas as human creations, and the Buddhist criticism that the Vedic seers were subject to ignorance. The Mīmāṃsā affirmation of Dharma as essentially a ritual category may also be seen as a response to the Buddhist notions of Dharma. While the impersonal view of the Vedas is already in evidence in the late *Ṛgveda* and the later Vedic texts,[25] the specific formulation of the notion of *apauruṣeyatva* seems to have been a response to a counterclaim that the Vedas were *pauruṣeya* 'human creations'.[26]

5.3. The response of the later Mīmāṃsakas like Kumārila is far more specific. Kumārila faults Buddha for having foresaken his Kṣatriya duty and the duty of a householder, and taken upon himself the role of a teacher, which Kumārila perceives as a uniquely Brahmanical role. On the question of language, Kumārila explicitly says that the Buddhist texts are written in *apaśabdas* "degenerate languages", referring to Prakrits and to Hybrid Sanskrit of the Buddhist texts. How can the texts written in such degenerate linguistic forms carry any authority (*prāmāṇya*)?[27]

5.4. The early Sanskrit grammarians, Kātyāyana and Patañjali, offer a very extensive reorganization of views on the question of language. While, for Pāṇini, the regional and scholastic variation in Sanskrit was natural and worth describing, guarding the whole of Sanskrit against the onslaught of the current popular usage emerges as the principal aim for Kātyāyana. Thus, Kātyāyana de-emphasizes the value of dialectal variation in Sanskrit noted by Pāṇini and turns it into free variation. As long as the dialectal usages are correct Sanskrit usages, they are all equally acceptable to Kātyāyana and their dialectal restrictions are of no avail to him (Deshpande 1978: 84ff). He wants to use Pāṇini's grammar not to emphasize the differences between dialects of Sanskrit, but to draw a dividing line between what he considers to be

the proper usage of Sanskrit on the one hand, and the degenerate improper usage on the other. He says: [28]

> While the relationship between words and meanings is established on the basis of the usage of specific words to denote specific meanings in the community of speakers, the science of grammar only makes a regulation concerning the religious merit produced by the linguistic usage, as is commonly done in worldly matters and in Vedic rituals.

5.5. According to Kātyāyana, only the proper Sanskrit usage, as sanctioned by the grammarians, produces religious merit (*dharma*). He explicitly says that the usage of Sanskrit backed by the science of grammar produces prosperity, and that this is similar to the proper use of Vedic hymns in rituals. Any violations of the norms set by the grammarians and lapses into colloquial degenerate usage lead to social and religious downgrading. By giving the proper usage of Sanskrit the status of Vedic formulae, Kātyāyana intensifies the significance of preserving the proper Sanskrit usage and indicates the widening gap between the proper elite Sanskrit usage and the more popular forms of the Aryan language. Kātyāyana says that the degenerate usage by the non-elite folks is due to their inability (*aśakti*) to produce proper Sanskrit usage.[29] One of the obvious implications is that the speakers of Prakrits have certain basic disabilities.

5.6. Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* not only provides explanations of Kātyāyana's statements, but it adds significant further details reflecting the contemporary linguistic situation and the attitudes of the Sanskrit grammarians concerning this situation. While Kātyāyana seems to be asserting the need of speaking proper Sanskrit at all times, we see a distinct change in Patañjali's work. He emphasizes the need to use proper Sanskrit at the proper time, and not at all times. He refers to a passage in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* which tells us that the Asuras (= demons) speaking the incorrect words *helayo helayo*, apparently for the proper Sanskrit words *he arayaḥ he arayaḥ* "O enemies, O enemies", were defeated by the gods.[30] Patañjali believes that, among other things, it was the "degenerate" use of Sanskrit by the demons at a sacrificial performance which led to their defeat. He further illustrates this point with a story:[31]

> The restriction on the [proper] use [of Sanskrit] also applies only in the context of sacrificial performances. Thus it is

> heard. There were great sages who could see directly the nature of things, who knew this world and the yonder world, who knew what there is to know, and who had realized the truth. They were called Yarvāṇastarvāṇa. Instead of using the proper Sanskrit expressions *yad vā naḥ* and *tad vā naḥ*, these respectable sages used to say *yarvāṇa* and *tarvāṇa*. However, they did not use these degenerate forms during sacrificial performances (where they used the proper Sanskrit expressions). On the other hand, the demons used degenerate linguistic forms even during sacrificial performances, and hence they were defeated.

This passage gives us concrete instance of diglossic variation: *yad vā naḥ* and *tad vā naḥ* in the high variety and *yarvāṇa* and *tarvāṇa* in the low variety. Whether we call these two varieties different languages or different forms of the same language depends upon who we ask. For the Sanskrit grammarians, the low variety was simply a degenerate form of the high variety. For Buddhists and Jainas who used Prakrits for religious instruction and for the kings who used Prakrits for their royal edicts, the so-called low variety in fact was neither low nor degenerate. These non-Brahmanical religions considered the respective Prakrits, Pali and Ardhamāgadhī, to be the original languages of all beings, from which all other languages were born. In any case, the social valuations differed and it is clear that some segments in the society could shift their variety of speech in different contexts, while other segments did not and perhaps could not shift the same way. From the orthodox Brahmanical point of view, this placed the latter kind of people at a lower social status. Patañjali explicitly warns a Brahmin not to use degenerate linguistic usages during a sacrificial performance. Such a degenerate use of language subjected the sacrificer to a purificatory penance.[32]

5.7. Given such a linguistic and sociolinguistic spectrum, what is the function of a grammar such as Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*? While the more common term for grammar is *vyākaraṇa*, "explanation, analysis", the word for grammar brought into focus by Patañjali is *śabdānuśāsana* "regulation of language". The term *anuśāsana*, "regulation, instruction, ruling" is found in legal and ritual texts and elsewhere, and has a strong coercive value. Thus, while grammar described by the term *vyākaraṇa* possesses an analytical and explanatory function, as a *śabdānuśāsana*, grammar is a quasilegal system which attaches values such as "correct" and "incorrect", which are synonymous with "good" and "bad" or

"meritorious" and "non-meritorious". Patañjali says that while the task of communicating meaning may be feasible by using either the proper Sanskrit words (*śabda*) or the degenerate forms (*apaśabda*), the science of grammar makes a regulation that, if one wishes to acquire religious merit, one should communicate by using the proper Sanskrit language.[33] If a proper Sanskrit word and a "degenerate" word have the same meaning, then a word backed by the science of grammar (*śāstrānvita*) makes the other word unacceptable. For instance, the word *devadatta* "given by god" being properly backed by grammar makes the "degenerate" form deva-diṇṇa unacceptable.[34] To keep track of our terminology, the word "grammar" in the above discussions refers exclusively to the traditional Sanskrit grammar. From the puritanical point of view of the Sanskrit grammarians, the vernaculars have no grammar at all (Deshpande 1979: 9-14).

6. Acceptance of Sanskrit in Later Buddhism

6.1. Now we can once again return to later Buddhist traditions, and note the enormous change from the early Buddhist position on language. Later traditions of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna Buddhism viewed Buddha as a Sanskrit speaker. The text of the *Lalitavistara* shows that the alphabet which Buddha learns at school is conceived of as a Sanskrit alphabet. The major question as to why the Buddhists shifted from Prakrit to Sanskrit needs a very lengthy analysis. Among other reasons,[35] this shift may be explained in the light of the sociolinguistic factor that almost all the major Buddhist teachers, such as Vasubandhu, Aśvaghoṣa, Asaṅga, Nāgārjuna etc. are Brāhmaṇas converted to Buddhism. Thus, in terms of language use and linguistic attitudes, one may safely conclude that the early Buddhism represented a distinct point of view of Kṣatriya superiority over Brāhmaṇas, while the later Buddhism of Sanskrit Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna texts represents importation of Brahmanical linguistic attitudes into Buddhist traditions. For this later Sanskrit Buddhism, Buddha's Kṣatriya status has a somewhat different value. Interestingly, according to the later Buddhist traditions, which being in Sanskrit represent a different sociolinguistic point of view akin to that of the Brāhmaṇas, the Bodhisattvas are born either in Brāhmaṇa or Kṣatriya families, but never in Caṇḍāla, Veṇukāra, Rathakāra or Puṣkasa families. The *Lalitavistara* says that when Brāhmaṇas are dominant in the world, the Bodhisattva is born in a Brāhmaṇa family, and when the Kṣatriyas are dominant in the world, Bodhisattva is born in a Kṣatriya family. But the Bodhisattva is never

born in a *hīna* "lower" family. According to this text, the world was dominated by Kṣatriyas at the time of Buddha's birth and hence he was born in a Kṣatriya family. In theory at least, our text can conceive of Brāhmaṇas being dominant in the world at some other time, but even in theory it cannot conceive of any one other than these two being dominant in the world.[36] This text rejects for instance the lineage of Kosalas as being inappropriate for the Bodhisattva by claiming that they were Mātaṅgas in their previous lives.[37] In ancient India, when Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas vied with each other for the superior status, they both seem to agree on the lower rank of the Vaiśyas and Śūdras. The *Lalitavistara* passage may represent a concession granted by the Brāhmaṇa converts to Buddhism to themselves. This is probably a midpoint in shifting sociolinguistic attitudes in Buddhist traditions, which are later fully dominated by converted Brāhmaṇas. The *Lalitavistara* itself shows the place the Brāhmaṇas have acquired in Buddhist social thinking. For instance, when the Bodhisattva was waiting in the Tuṣita heaven considering how he should be born on the earth, according to *Lalitavistara*, a Devaputra named Ugratejas said: "The Bodhisattva must enter his mother's womb in that very form which has been described in the *Mantra-veda-śāstra* of the Brāhmaṇas."[38] I am offering this evidence in order to show the probable link between the direction toward Sanskritization of Buddhism and the increasing prominence of Brahmanical elements within the Buddhist traditions.

7. The Buddhist Defense of Deviant Buddhist Sanskrit

7.1. The Buddhists of later traditions were obviously concerned with the perceptions of others concerning the deviant language of their texts, which we now generally call Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. We shall not go into the complicated question regarding the origins of this Buddhist variety of Sanskrit, which considerably deviates from the norms of Classical Sanskrit, and approaches the norms of various Prakrit languages.[39] From the orthodox Hindu point of view, these texts were clearly ungrammatical, and hence represented the inability of their authors, further implying their untrustworthiness (*aprāmāṇya*). How did the Buddhists themselves deal with this apparent problem?

7.2. Briefly, there were two responses to this problem. The first strategy was to call these ungrammatical forms *ārṣa* "usages of the sage, Buddha".[40] This strategy sought to legitimize these seemingly ungrammatical usages by claiming that they conformed to a higher standard of usage appropriate for the sages. As a superior being, Buddha

was not subject to the lower standard of the Sanskrit grammarians. This very same strategy is found in Brahmanism as well as in Jainism.[41] The un-Pāṇinian forms in the epics are traditionally called *ārṣa*, and there is even a claim that the great Vyāsa's usage did conform to the standards set by the grammar of Indra, and that Pāṇini, the ignorant man, simply did not know the total usage sanctioned by Indra.[42] A similar strategy is used by the Jainas. Thus, what may seem to be irregular and ungrammatical to narrow-minded Sanskrit grammarians is elevated to a status worthy of great transcendent Ṛsis.

7.3. The second alternative used by certain authors was to claim that the Buddhist texts deliberately use unconventional forms of Sanskrit as shockers to warn that one need not get too much attached even to language. John Newman (1988) points to a very important discussion in the commentary *Vimalaprabhā* on the *Kālacakratantra*. About the language of the Vajrayāna literature, Winternitz (1933: 401) says: "The Sanskrit in which the (Buddhist) Tantras are written, is, as a rule, just as barbarous as their contents". Newman (1988:124) appropriately reminds us that such characterizations "must be evaluated in light of what the Kālacakra tradition itself has to say about the question of 'correct' language". The commentary *Vimalaprabhā* says[43] that the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas like to destroy the attachment of the advocates of grammatical language to that grammatical language. The Buddhas preach deliberately in deviant languages so that such an attachement will be destroyed. They keep the meaning to be communicated as their primary goal, and deliberately use deviant language. Newman (1988: 128) argues that the language of the Kālacakra Tantra is not the same as the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, and that "these grammatical irregularities are not the outcome of a natural linguistic development from an earlier Prakrit—they appear to have been deliberately introduced into the Kālacakra literature". We shall not invéstigate the validity of Newman's claim here. However, the justificatory attitude exhibited by *Vimalaprabhā* is remarkable, and shows that there indeed was a tension concerning the deviant Sanskrit of the Buddhist texts.

8. Political Factors

8.1. In my 1979 study, I had discussed in many places how political factors do affect sociolinguistic attitudes. Here I would like to briefly explore the connection between the political factors and the sociolinguistic attitudes expressed in the early Buddhist and Jaina texts. The Pali tradition calls the Pali language by the name Māgadhī and

claims that Buddha spoke this language and that this language is the original language of all beings (*sabbasattānaṃ mūlabhāṣā*). As quoted above, the Jaina texts make a similar claim on behalf of Ardhamāgadhī. Both of these are indeed varieties of Māgadhan Prakrit and make the highest claims of prestige. We are not concerned here with the purely linguistic question of whether Pali and Ardhamāgadhī as we know them now are truly Māgadhan dialects or not. We are concerned about the origins of the sociolinguistic claims made on behalf of these languages.

8.2. K.R. Norman (1980) has extensively discussed these Buddhist and Jaina passages making a claim for Pāli and Ardhamāgadhī to be the original language of the canon and the original language of all beings. He suggests:

> I would suggest that the idea of languages developing from Māgadhī is a clear indication of the state of affairs in North India during the time of the Mauryan empire in the fourth and third centuries B.C., and I think that the idea of language development expressed in the Buddhist and Jain texts must have been arising during, and very probably because of, that empire. During the Mauryan period Māgadhī, the language of Aśoka's capital Pāṭaliputra, was the administrative language of North India, and it, or a modified form of it, was inscribed all over India to make Aśoka's decrees known to his subjects. I would, therefore, suggest that Māgadhī *sabbasattānaṃ mūlabhāsā* was a (fairly) correct statement as far as North India was concerned in the fourth and third centuries B.C., and it was natural that a statement which Aśoka might have made about his administrative language should be adopted by the Buddhist missionaries when they went to Ceylon. A similar use for missionary purposes would doubtless account for the Jain adoption of the same phrase. (p. 67)

I fully agree with the political motivation which Norman finds in these Buddhist and Jaina assertions. However, as I have pointed out there are much deeper social reasons for the adoption of Prakrit, instead of Sanskrit, by these traditions.

8.3. Since the fall of the Mauryan empire, however, things gradually changed, and Māgadhī, which was once the most prestigious language, later appears as a low class language in Sanskrit dramas. This has to do with the loss of power to the region of Māgadha and the rise

of empires in other regions of India, more to the west and south of Māgadha. Thus the rise in the prestige of Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit may indeed be connected with the rise of the Sātavāhana power. In later centuries, the overall political prestige of Sanskrit rose continuously in such a way that it eclipsed the prestige of Prakrit which it had in the Mauryan days. As Romila Thapar (1973: 51) points out, "the earliest Sanskrit inscription of any importance is that of the Śaka ruler Rudradāman, and dates to the second century A.D., the previous inscriptions having been composed in the Prakrits and the local languages, such as Aramaic and Tamil". The rise in the prestige of Sanskrit must have begun slowly after the fall of the Mauryas at the hands of the Brāhmaṇa Puṣyamitra Śuṅga, and it gradually continued to rise in such a way that the royal inscriptions in India gradually changed from Prakrit to Sanskrit. The Śaka rulers began using Sanskrit, which was also used extensively by the Gupta kings. While the early Vākāṭaka inscriptions are in Prakrit, region by region they gradually change to Sanskrit. Also while the early Pallava inscriptions are in Prakrit, the late Pallava inscriptions are in Sanskrit. Nowhere do we see a shift from Sanskrit to Prakrit in the history of Indian inscriptions. This discussion indicates that changing attitudes toward languages in religious traditions are closely connected with the changing patterns of patronage from the political powers, as well as the changing patterns of the domination of social groups within the religious community. This then provides a more down-to-earth historical picture of otherwise esoteric philosophical issues.

NOTES

1. Foreward to Deshpande (1979a: 1).
2. For a treatment of Aryan migrations in India, see: Deshpande (1979b), Witzel (1989), and Parpola (1988).
3. ābhirādi-girah kāvyesv apabhraṃśa iti smṛtaḥ / śāstreṣu saṃskṛtād anyad apabhraṃśatayoditam //, Kāvyādarśa, I.36.
4. brahma vā idam agra āsīt / tad ekaṃ san na vyabhavat / tac chreyo-rūpam atyasṛjata kṣatraṃ yāny etāni devatrā kṣatrānīndro varuṇaḥ somo rudraḥ parjanyo yamo mṛtyur īśāna iti / tasmāt kṣatrāt paraṃ nāsti / tasmād brāhmaṇaḥ kṣatriyam adhastād upāste rājasūye kṣatra eva tad yaśo dadhāti saiṣā kṣatrasya yonir yad brahma /, *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, XIV, iv, 2, 23.
5. Sa hovācājātaśatruḥ pratilomaṃ caitad yad brāhmaṇaḥ kṣatriyaṃ upeyād brahma me vakṣyatīti /, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad*, 2.1.15.
6. For the shifting geography of Aryan migrations, see: Richard

Saloman (1978), Despande (1979b), Witzel (1989) and Parpola (1988).

7. udīcyām ha vai diśi prajñātatarā vāg udyate / udañca eva u yanti vācaṃ śikṣitum, *Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa* (7.6). Also see Witzel (1989: 101).
8. Asko Parpola (1983: 46ff). Also Parpola (1988: 251 ff.).
9. Parpola (1988: 55) points to *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (13.8.1.5) which refers to the round burial monuments of the demonic (*asura*) people of the East (i.e., Māgadha) as differing from the four-cornered Śmaśānacitis of the godly people, i.e., the classical Vedic Aryans.
10. For a recent treatment, see: Katherine Young (1982).
11. ehi tvaṃ brāhmaṇa yena bhagavā tenupasaṅkama / upasaṅkamitvā mama vacanena bhagavato pāde sirasā vandāhi / evaṃ ca vadehi—"rājā bhante māgadho ajātasattu vedehiputto vajjī abhiyātukāmo, *Mahaparinibbānasutta, Dīghanikāya, Mahāvaggo*, Nalanda Edition, p. 58.
12. rājā bho gotama.../, *Ibid*., p. 58.
13. dāni mayaṃ bho gotama gacchāma, bahukiccā mayaṃ bahukaraṇīyā ti/, *Ibid*., p. 61.
14. yassa dāni tvaṃ brāhmaṇa kālaṃ maññasī ti /, *Ibid*., p. 61.
15. *Ambaṭṭhasutta, Dīghanikāya*, Nalanda edition, Vol. I, pp. 84ff.
16. iti kho ambaṭṭha yadā khattiyo parama-nīhinattaṃ patto hoti tadā pi khattiyā va seṭṭhā, hīnā brāhmanā /...khattiyo seṭṭho jane tasmiṃ ye gotta-paṭisārino ti /, *Ibid*., p. 86.
17. cattāro me bho gotama vaṇṇā—khattiyā brāhmaṇā vessā suddā /, *Ibid*., p. 80.
18. jānāsi taṃ janapadakalyāṇiṃ khattiyī vā brāhmaṇī vā vessīvā-suddī vā ti /, *Poṭṭhapādasutta, Dīghanikāya*, Nalanda Edition, Vol. I, p. 160. Also *Tevijjasutta, Dīghanikāya, Ibid*., p. 204.
19. *Mahāparinibbānasutta, Dīghanikāya*, Nalanda Edition, Vol. II, p. 86.
20. bhagavā pi khattiyo mayaṃ pi khattiyā, mayaṃ pi arahāma bhagavato sarīrānaṃ bhāgam /, *Ibid*., p. 126.
21. Franklin Edgerton (1953, vol. I, pp. 1-2) quotes passages from the Pali canon, the Vinaya of the Mahīśāsakas, the Vinaya of the Dharmaguptakas and the *Vinayamātṛkā* on the early debates over the language of the Buddhist canon.
22. For an excellent discussion of the early Buddhist attitudes toward the Vedas, Vedic Ṛsis etc., see Katherine Young (1982). She argues that, in the region outside the Brahmanical influence, the Śākyas had most probably very little exposure to and respect for the Brāhmaṇas and their Vedas. She states (pp. 114-15): "He (=Buddha) appealed to the *Khattiyas* of Magadha.....They were annoyed over the Brahmins' claim to superiority by birth.... The

khattiyas needed a way to change the balance of power. ...Furthermore the Buddha was a *khattiya* and stood up for the *khattiyas'* superiority when challenged by the Brahmins.... He appealed to the other Aryans who also lived liminally in the shadow of Brahmanical expertise.... He appealed to those non-Aryans, who wanted a way to integrate into the society.... And, finally, he appealed to some Brahmins".

23. For details of the early Buddhist criticism of the Vedic Ṛsis, see: Clooney (1990: 213ff.). Also, Katherine Young (1982).
24. Deshpande (1979a: 14ff.).
25. For different conceptions of the Veda, see Deshpande, "Changing Conceptions of the Veda". (forthcoming).
26. Jayatilleke (1963: 192) and Clooney (1990: 215) suggest the possibility that the doctrine of *apauruṣeyatva* of the Vedas may have developed as a response to the Buddhist criticism.
27. For details, see: Deshpande (1979a: 17ff.). A similar response to Buddhism is seen in Jayantabhaṭṭa's *Nyāyamañjarī* (Āhnika 4, verses 84-88).
28. Vārttika 1: siddhe śabdārtha-sambandhe lokato 'rtha-prayukte śāstreṇa dharma-niyamo yathā laukika-vaidikeṣu, *MB*, Vol. I, pp. 6-8.
29. ḷkāropadeśo yadṛcchāśaktijānukaraṇaplutyādyarthaḥ, *Vārttika* 1, on *Śivasūtra* (ṛḷk), *MB*, Vol. I, p. 19.
30. te 'surāḥ helayo helaya iti kurvantaḥ parābabhuvuḥ, *MB*, Vol. I., p. 10. For details on this passage, see: Deshpande 1979: 105.
31. yad apy ucyate ācāre niyama iti yājñe karmaṇi sa niyamaḥ / evaṃ hi śrūyate /yarvāṇas tarvāṇo nāma ṛṣayo babhūvuḥ pratyakṣa-dharmāṇaḥ parāparajñā vidita-veditavyā adhigata-yāthātathyāḥ / te tatra-bhavanto yad vā nas tad vā na iti prayoktavye yarvāṇas tarvāṇa iti prayuñjate / yājñe karmaṇi punar nāpabhāsante / taiḥ punar asurair yājñe karmaṇy apabhāṣitam / tatas te parābhūtāḥ /, *MB*, Vol. I, p. 11. S.D. Joshi (1989) analyses this and other passages in the *Mahābhāṣya*, but somehow concludes that the diglossic situation in the *Mahābhāṣya* was equally true at Pāṇini's time and that there is no reason to argue for a change from Pāṇini to Patañjali. This view that we cannot argue for a change in the linguistic situation from Pāṇini to Patañjali is not widely shared among scholars. I plan to deal with this question in a forthcoming article "Sociolinguistic Parameters of Pāṇini's Sanskrit".
32. āhitāgnir apaśabdam prayujya prāyaścittīyāṃ sārasvatīm iṣṭiṃ nirvaped iti / prāyaścittīyā mā bhūmety adhyeyaṃ vyākaraṇam /, *MB*, Vol. I, p. 4.
33. samānāyām artha-gatau śabdena cāpaśabdena ca dharma-niyamaḥ kriyate śabdenaivārtho'bhidheyo nāpaśabdeneti /, *MB* Vol. I, p. 8.

34. samāne cārthe sāstrānvito' śāstrānvitasya nivartako bhavati / tad yathā / devadatta-śabdo devadinna-śabdam nivartayati / *MB*, Vol. I, p. 20.

35. For a recent coverage of this topic, see: Oskar von Hinüber (1989). Hinüber (pp. 348-349) refers to Aśvaghoṣa being a Brāhmaṇa, and the fact that Buddha and his disciples speak Sanskrit in Aśvaghoṣa's drama. He argues: "For Aśvaghoṣa standard Sanskrit, and not BHS, is the language of Buddhism, and obviously even of the Buddha himself". However, he does not make an explicit argument that the later Buddhist teachers being predominantly Brāhmaṇas had anything to do with their increasing preference for Sanskrit. Damsteegt (1978: 208), referring to the increasing Sanskritization of inscriptional Prakrits in the region of Āryāvarta, says: "It is not at all improbable that the Buddhists and Jainas, penetrating into the Āryāvarta from more eastern parts of the country, gradually came under the influence of this brahmanical culture and its characteristic language, Sanskrit, as a result of frequent intercourse with the Brāhmaṇas".

36. na bodhisattvā hina-kuleṣūpapadyante caṇḍāla-kuleṣu vā veṇukāra-kule vā rathakāra-kule vā puṣkasa-kule vā / atha tarhi kula-dvaye evopapadyante brāhmaṇa-kule kṣatriya-kule ca / tatra yadā brāhmaṇa-guruko loko bhavati, tadā brāhmaṇa-kule upapadyante / yadā kṣatriya-guruko bhavati tadā kṣatriya-kule upapadyante / etarhi bhikṣavaḥ kṣatriya-guruko lokaḥ / tasmād bodhisattvāḥ kṣatriya-kule upapadyante /, *Lalitavistara*, p. 14. The very same day the Boddhisattva was born, thousands of girls were also born to Kṣatriya and Brāhmaṇa householders: tasyām eva rātryāṃ viṃśatikanyā-sahasrāṇi kṣatriya-brāhmaṇa-naigama-gṛhapati-mahā-śāla-kuleṣu jātāḥ /, *Ibid.*, p. 83. Again notice the order. The Kṣatriyas come before the Brāhmaṇas, and there are no Vaiśyas and Śūdras.

37. kauśala-kulaṃ mātaṅga-cyuty-upapannaṃ na mātṛ-pitṛ-śuddham / ... tena na tat pratirūpam /, *Lalitavistara*, p. 15.

38. tatrogratejā nāma brahmakāyiko devaputraḥ... evam iha-yathā brāhmaṇānām mantra-veda-śāstra-pāṭheṣv, āgacchati, tāirśenaiva rūpeṇa bodhisattvo mātuḥ kukṣāv avakrāmitavyaḥ /, *Lalitavistara*, *Ibid.*, p. 29. This is of course balanced by the claim that the Buddhistic gods come down to earth to teach Vedas to the Brāhmaṇas: atha śuddhāvāsakāyikā devaputrā jambudvīpam āgatya divyaṃ varṇam antardhāpya brāhmaṇa-veṣeṇa brāhmaṇān vedān adhyāpayanti sma /, *Ibid.*, p. 11. In contrast with the criticism of the Vedas in early Buddhism, this is indeed a new position.

39. For a recent discussion of the origins of BHS and other related issues, see: Oskar von Hinüber (1989).

40. Hinüber (1989: 361): "The Buddhists themselves knew very well

that the language as used in their canonical Sanskrit scriptures does not always meet the high standards laid down in Pāṇini's grammar, and these divergences were described as *ārṣa*, as pointed out recently by D. Seyfort Ruegg (*JAOS* 106, 1986, 596 f.)" Ruegg points out that the Buddhist grammarian Kumāralāta used the term *ārṣa* to refer to what is generally referred to as Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit.

41. One must keep in mind that the term *ārṣa*, while it removes the stigma attached to words such as *apabhraṃśa*, does not necessarily make a claim that the language thus referred to is Sanskrit or a variety of Sanskrit. The Jainas use the term to refer to Ardhamāgadhī. See: Ruegg (1989: 293-4).

42. This is the import of the oft-quoted verse:

yāny ujjahāra māhendrād vyāso vyākaraṇārṇavāt /
padaratnāni kim tāni santi pāṇini-goṣpade //

"How could the word-jewels, which Vyāsa picked out from the ocean like grammar of the great Indra, be found in Pāṇini's (grammar which is as small as a) cow's foot-print?"

43. teṣāṃ ca suśabdavādināṃ suśabdagrahavināśāyārthasaraṇatām aśritya kvacid vṛtte 'paśabdaḥ / kvacid vṛtte yatibhaṅgaḥ / kvacid avibhaktikaṃ padam/ kvacid varṇasvaralopaḥ / kvacid vṛtte dīrgho hrasvaḥ hrasvo 'pi dīrgaḥ / kvacid pañcamyarthe saptamī caturthyarthe ṣaṣṭhī / kutracit parasmaipadini dhātāv ātmanepadam ātmanepadini parasmaipadam / kvacid ekavacane bahuvacanaṃ bahuvacane ekavacanam /puṃliṅge napuṃsakaliṅgaṃ napuṃsake puṃliṅgaṃ / kvacit tālavyaśakāre dantyamūrdhanyau / kvacin mūrdhanye dantyatālavyau / kvacid dantye tālavyamūrdhanyau / evam anye 'py anusartavyās tantradeśakopadeśeneti / tathā bhagavān āha —

sucandra sarvabuddhānāṃ deyaṃ nityeṣṭavastukam /
śiṣyebhiś ca guruṇāṃ ca bhāryāduhitṛputrakam //
gandho bhavati medinyāṃ toye rūpam raso 'nale /
vāyau sparśo 'kṣare śabdo dharmadhātur mahānabhe //
gandhadhūpādīdipebhiḥ khānapānādivāsanaiḥ /
pūjayitvā sadā mudrāṃ guror dadati satsutaḥ //

ity evamādayo 'nye 'py apaśabdā yogināvagantavyā āgamapāṭhād iti / evaṃ ṭīkāyam api suśabdābhimānanāśāya likhitavyam mayārtha-śaraṇatām āśrityeti / atha yena yena prakāreṇa kulavidyāsu śabdābhimānalzayo bhavati tena prakāreṇārtha-śaraṇatām āśritya buddhāṇām bodhisattvānāṃ dharmadeśanā deśabhāṣāntareṇa śabdaśāstrabhāṣāntareṇa mokṣārtham /, *Vimalaprabhā* I.3. Cited in Newman (1988: 125). Newman also cites other passages in the Tantra tradition dealing with the language controversy.

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Influence of Prakrit on Kannaḍa Language and Literature

Hampa Nagarajaiah

It is not an exaggeration to say that the history of Kannaḍa language and literature would be complete and meaningful only with reference to Prakrit. Its role in the development of Kannaḍa literature can be explained and analysed on four levels:

1. *On Kannaḍa language*: A linguistic analysis on historical lines will clearly exhibit the depth and dimension of this influence. Early Kannaḍa grammarians were also aware of this aspect. As a result of the contact of Prakrit, certain phonetic and semantic changes have also taken place in the language.
2. *On Kannaḍa literature*: The first Stratum of Prakrit on Kannaḍa literature is the subject of this paper.
3. *On Kannaḍa metre*: A detailed and analytical study of Kannaḍa prosodical principles reveals the tone and colour of Prakrit metres. In particular, three forms of Kannaḍa metre (Ragaḷe, Kanda and Sāngatya) bear the stamp of Prakrit. Early Kaṇnaḍa poets were influenced by Apabhraṃśa Kaḍavakas. The very conception of *ādiprāsa* and *antyaprāsa* in Kannaḍa verses, owes its allegiance to Prakrit Kāvyas. Kannaḍa poets have used the words *paddati*, *paddali* as synonyms to Ragaḷe a kind of Kannaḍa metre, which reiterates Prakrit influence. Prakrit *paddaḍia* and other variants *paddika*, *pajjhaḍika*, *padditika*, *pajjihaḍia* can be compared with Kannaḍa forms, which can be traced/attributed to a common source. Kanda, another Kannaḍa metre, has evolved on the model of Prakrit Skandaka (a Sanskritised form of Pk. Khandaa) and Apabraṃśa Khandaya/Khanda. Similarly Sāngatya, a Kannaḍa metre, is said to have been derived from Prakrit Sanghatta metre.

4. *On religion in Karnataka*: Jainism, according to the traditional belief, is said to have come from north, the region of Prakrit. Every householder respectfully recites Prakrit *cattāri maṅgalam* and *pañcaṇamokāra mantram*. A critico-historical study of Kannaḍa literature beginning with the early Proto-Kannaḍa and the later Kāvyas, go to prove the solid influence of Prakrit. It is said wisely and appropriately that Kannaḍa literature minus Jain literature is almost zero. This figurative expression can further be extended to say that Jain literature in Kannaḍa minus the Prakrit influence is a big cipher.

Both Prakrit and Kannaḍa flourished in a friendly atmosphere under similar circumstances. Prakrit influence started moderately in the last centuries before Christ and assumed a massive magnitude by the fourth century A.D. Aśokan inscriptions and six edicts of 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. are all in Prakrit and the date of the first inscription of Kannaḍa is 450 A.D. By the time a Kannaḍa inscription appeared there were a dozen Prakrit edicts, several centuries before that date. In all, there are 24 Prakrit inscriptions in Karṇāṭaka, which give information about Maurya, Cuṭu, Sātavāhana, Pallava and Kadamba kings.

The Sātavāhanas, the earliest to rule Karnātaka, had Prakrit as their administrative language and it is said that they had permitted the people of the palace only to use Prakrit. Hālarāja, a king of this Sātavāhana dynasty wrote (rather complied) his famous work *Gāhā-satta-saī* (third century A.D.) in which he described Prakrit language as a nectar *amiam pāia kavvam*. Later the Gaṅgas who succeeded the Sātavāhanas, also encouraged Prakrit by which time it had taken deep roots in the soil of Karṇāṭaka.

Though the Tīrthaṅkars are from the north, most of the *ācāryas* are from the south in general and from Karṇāṭaka in particular. These preceptors bridged the gulf between north and south, using Prakrit as a link language. Kannaḍa Kathākośa (=Va) Śivakoti, Vaṭṭakera, Bhūtabali, Puṣpadanta, Vīrasena, Dharasena, Jinasena, Boppadeva, Pūjyapāda, Samantabhadra, Nemicandra and other preceptors are respectfully remembered in the pontifical genealogy of the Jaina Order. Dhavaḷa, Jayadhavaḷa and Mahādhavaḷa ultimately took their present shape in Karṇāṭaka.

A mixture of Prakrit and Sanskrit is found in Cūrṇi texts. Ex. Jinadāsa mahattara (676) has employed such a style in his *Nandi Cūrṇi*. In Karṇāṭaka also such a style evolved in the early centuries, of mixing

Kannaḍa instead of Sanskrit with Prakrit. Tumbalūrācārya (about the fourth century) wrote a Kannaḍa commentary *Cuḍāmaṇi* on *Ubhayasiddhānta* and a pañcikā; in total about 91 thousand verses (87 + 7). One more *Cuḍāmaṇi* was written by Śrīvardhadeva (c. fourth century), a work of 96 thousand verses. Another *ācārya* Śamakunda also wrote a commentary on *Cakkhandāgama* and *Kaṣāyapāhuḍa* containing 12,000 verses, using Kannaḍa, Prakrit and Sanskrit languages. All these three commentaries have disappeared leaving no traces.

Prakrit continued to exercise its grip and command over the learned, including kings. Durvinīta (555-606) of the Western Gaṅga dynasty, whose national religion was Jainism, is said to have written three works, one of them being *Vaḍḍakathā*, which is supposed to be a faithful version of Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā* in Paiśāci. Durvinīta's *Vaḍḍakathā* is only next earliest work on Guṇāḍhya's book after *Vasudevahiṇḍi* of Saṅghadāsa (sixth century). *Vaḍḍakathā* and a Tamil work *Perungathai* by a Jain author Koṅguveḷir (ninth century) represent southern recension of Guṇāḍhya's *Brihatkathā*. Durvinīta was a disciple of Pujyapāda, a distinguished Jain Ācārya.

Like Durvinīta, another Gaṅga king Śivamāra II (about 800) was versatile in Kannaḍa, Sanskrit and Prakrit. He has written a *Śivamāramata* or a *Gajāṣṭaka* and a *Setubandha-kāvya*. There is a Prakrit *Setubandha* (*Rāvaṇa-vaho*) attributed to Kālidāsa or Pravarasena (of Vākāṭakavaṃśa). But some scholars and historians have said emphatically that the author of Prakrit *Setubandha* is none but this Śivamāra.

A study of Prakrit was a prerequisite to the study of Jain writers, as some of the basic religious texts were in that language. Hence most of them were as proficient in Prakrit as in Kannaḍa. Some of the Kannaḍa poets in their over-enthusiasm to exhibit their knowledge of Prakrit have used *gāhās* in Kannaḍa Kāvyas. On account of this intimacy with Prakrit literature, Jain poets were able to open a new horizon to Kannaḍa literature. So much was the influence of Prakrit that the author of *Kavirājamārga* (ninth century) warns the Kannaḍa poets to ward off the Prakrit temptation. It is possible that some of the Kannaḍa works written earlier to *Kavirājamārga*, both in prose and in poetry, to which we have no access, might have borrowed or translated mainly Prakrit works.

Narrative stories such as Dhanya (Kumāra), (Kārtika) (-ṛṣi), Śalibhadra, Cilātaputta—have entered the lore of Kannaḍa literature descending from Prakrit *Anuttaropapādikadasā*. It is only with the help of Ardhamāgadhī cannon, that a scholar will be able to explain the

origin and development of these stories. The main character of Śreṇika, perhaps modelled on Janamejaya of *Mahābhārata*, was responsible for the creation of many characters in the Purānas and other stories, their births and rebirths, in Kannaḍa literature, drawn from their counterparts in Prakrit.

There are *Neminātha-purāṇas*, more than a half a dozen in Kannaḍa and more than that on any other Tīrthaṅkara and the main source of them may be traced in Prakrit Literature.

Divākaranandi (1064) wrote a Kannaḍa commentary on *Tattavārtha-sūtra*, the first commentary in Kannaḍa on the famous Sanskrit work. It contains about 225 *gāhās* which clearly speak of the author's proficiency in Prakrit. Śāntinātha's (1068) *Sukumāracarite*, a *campūkāvya* in Kannaḍa has been influenced by Prakrit works on the same story. Durgasiṃha (1031) in his *Karṇāṭaka Pañcatantram* has narrated the previous births of Guṇāḍhya: "One Puṣpadanta in the Śivagaṇa, as a punishment for overhearing, was reborn in this mundane world as Guṇāḍhya. Later he rose to eminence as a poet of excellence and wrote *Bṛhatkathā* in Paiśācī, incorporating the stories told to Pārvatī by Hara. In due course Vasubhāgabhaṭṭa picked up only five diamond-like stories from that ocean of stories (Guṇāḍhaya's *Bṛhatkathā*) wrote it in Sanskrit and named it as *Pañcatantram*. This work was acclaimed and appreciated by kings and poet-laurates. I (Durgasiṃha) am rendering afresh that Vasubhāgabhaṭṭa's *Pañcatantram* into Kannaḍa." Durgasiṃha's rendering afresh of Vasubhāgabhaṭṭa's *Pañcatantram* has special significance of preserving a Jaina version of *Pañcatantra*, a parallel tradition to Viṣṇusarmā's. This Kannaḍa poet Durgasiṃha has praised the Prakrit writer Guṇāḍhya like this: "When it is impossible even for Brahmā (the creator) to flatter the delicate, mellifious and limpid poetic brilliance of the famous Guṇāḍhya, who on earth is there capable of doing it"?

Vṛttavilāsa's (1360) Kannaḍa *Dharmaparīkṣe*, though directly indebted to Amitagati's (1014) Sanskrit work, has some stories in it which originate from Prakrit *Dhūrtākhyāna* (Haribhadra-Suri; 750), Hariṣeṇa's (988) *Dharma-Parīkṣā* in Apabhraṃśa and all of these works in turn ultimately point to *Niśīthacūrṇi* (677) of Jinadāsagaṇin.

A tradition of writing commentaries on *Ārādhanā* (*Mūlārādhanā*) existed in Karṇāṭaka from eighth century. Among the earliest are *Vijayodaya* in Sanskrit and *Ārādhanā-Karṇāṭaṭīkā* in Kannaḍa, respectively written by Aparājita-suri and Bhrājiṣṇu. Though the date, place and identification of them is still debatable, it is possible that they were both from Karṇāṭaka and that they lived in the ninth century. Whether

Rāmacandra Mumukṣu has based his *Puṇyāsrava Kathākoṣa* on *Ārādhanā-Karṇāṭaṭīka* is a point for further consideration.

Vaḍḍārādhane (about 1075), a collection of 19 stories, bears the stamp of Prakrit so much that if Prakrit elements are taken away from this text what remains is a bare skeleton. The name of the author and the work, its date, place and source were all in a nebulous state. I had the pleasure and privilege of probing deep into these questions in my Ph.D. thesis on this subject, which has thrown fresh light on all these aspects. This Kannaḍa *Kathākośa* has borrowed *gāhās* from *Bhagavatī Ārādhanā*, *Mūlācāra*, *Tiloyasāra*, *Paramātma-prakāśa*, Śrīcandra's *Kathākośa*, *Jambudīvapaṇṇatti*, *Nayacakra*, *Darśana-pāhuḍa* and *Pratikramanasūtra*, all Prakrit works.

Cāmuṇḍarāya, an outstanding personality in Karnātaka's history, has written some works and Triṣaṣṭi Lakṣaṇa Purāṇam is a significant Kannaḍa prose work (978) as it is the first Mahāpurāṇa in Kannaḍa. There are about 11 *gāhās* quoted in the Cāmuṇḍarāya Purāṇam. Cāmuṇḍarāya is the main cause for the erection of Gommaṭeśvara's monolith of 58 ft at Śravaṇabelagolā and for Nemicandra's *Gommaṭasāra*. Nāgacandra's (1080) *Rāmacandra-carita-purāṇam* narrates the Jaina version of Rāmāyaṇa and owes its gratitude to Vimala-suri's *Pauma-cariya*, written in Jaina-Mahārāṣṭri.

Nemicandra (c. 1180), a Caturbhāṣā-Cakravarti, wrote two *campūkāvyas*; *Līlāvatī-prabandham* and *Nemināthapurāṇam*. Scholars have noted the influence of Prakrit *Līlāvatīkāvya* of Kouhala (c.800) and Sanskrit *Vasavadattā* of Subandhu, (c. 600) on Nemicandra's *Līlāvatī-Kāvya*. I would like to focus the attention of scholars on another important reference not mentioned so far; one Jineśvara-Suri (1034) has written Prakrit Kāvya *Līlāvatī-Kathā*, which may be the direct source of Nemicandra's Kannaḍa Classic *Līlāvatī Prabandham*.

In his another Kāvya, poet Nemicandra, in a state of ecstacy and out of sheer love and respect for Prakrit literature, has given a rare description. Let me quote the very words of the poet: (the situation under reference is that Vasudeva majestically enters the marriage hall) "Prākṛta kāvyadante sahaja saubhāgya bhangi bhāvālaṅkārādin alaṅkṛitanāgi svayaṃvara maṇṭapam" i.e. "Vasudeva entered the marriage hall attired with natural grace and charm like a Prākṛita Kāvya".

Here Nemicandra has given a glowing tribute to the glory of Prakrit literature by making a casual but very effective statement at the appropriate time and place. This is just a spontaneous outburst of a poet's unprejudiced attitude and appreciation towards another language

and literature that has so much influenced him and his writing. I do not think that there can be a better compliment or testimonial to Prakrit literature than this unique statement. It is interesting to note furthermore that Nemicandra has also composed four *gāhās* and used them in his two *kāvyas*.

Bandhuvarma (c. 1150) makes use of *Bārasa anuvekkha* and some Kundakunda Ācārya's works in his *jīvasambodhane*. Nāgavarma (c. 990) has derived inspiration from *svayambhū chandas* for his *Chandombudhi*. A number of Vratakathās in Kannaḍa are highly indebted to Prakrit sources. There are some independent *kāvyas* depicting the story of Nāgakumara and the direct source is Mahākavi Puṣpadanta's *Ṇāyakumāra-cariu*. Āṇḍayya (c. twelfth century) has used a good number of *tadbhava* forms and some of them are from Prakrit. There are a number of Kannaḍa commentaries on pro-canonical literature, *Bāraha anuvekkha*, *Dasabhakti*, *Paramātma-prakāśa*, *Karma-prakṛtiprābhṛta*, *Kṣapaṇasāra*, *Gommatasāra*, *Rayaṇa-sāra*, etc. Keśavavarṇi (1359), Bāhbalisiddhānta Vrati (fourteenth century), Adhyātmi Balacandra (1170), Balacandra-paṇḍita (1273), Padmaprabha (1,1300), Prabhacandra (a 1300) and other commentators have done their best to pass on Prakrit works to Kannaḍa literature. Poet Vijayaṇṇas's (1448) *Dvādaśānuprekṣe* is again based on Prakrit sources.

Till today the origin of *campū* remains an enigma, a *yakṣapraśna*; some scholars have attributed it to Prakrit source. There is another form of prose writing in Kannaḍa called 'bolli': *Pañca-parameṣṭhigalabolli* (Balacandra-Pandita; 1273). This is borrowed from Prakrit *bollia*. Māghanandi (1250), author of about four works, has used 647 *gāhās* in his magnum opus *padārthasāra*. Siribhūvalaya of Kumudendu (c. fifteenth century) a unique work in any language, has mentioned the names of Prakrit works and authors, in addition to *gāhās*.

Prakrit enjoyed the royal patronage in Karṇāṭaka first under the Sātavāhanas. Later Prakrit found its patron in the Gaṅgas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. When the Gaṅgas, vanquished and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa capital city Mānyakheṭa (Malkhed) was burnt, not only did Prakrit literature but also Kannaḍa literature lost a great patron in them. Prakrit in particular had to flee from the palace to seek its shelter elsewhere in *gurukulas* and *maṭhas*, but the glory and pomp of creative literature was gone and what followed later was mainly some commentaries on pro-canonical literature.

The role of Prakrit literature in the development of Kannaḍa literature is stupendous, both in quality and in quantity. Kannaḍa assimilated some of the best qualities of Prakrit, a process which started

very early around the 3rd century and continued up to the 14th century. Almost as a token of gratitude Karnātaka also encouraged Prakrit writers. Dhavaḷa was safely preserved for the posterity, Mahākavi Puṣpadanta wrote his classics here. Virahānka, Svayambhū, Trivikrama, Nemicandra and a host of others, in addition to the galaxy of great *ācāryas* like Vaṭṭakera, Śivakoṭi, Vīrasena, Jinasena—all lived and wrote in Karṇāṭaka.

Among other variants of Prakrit it is Apabhraṃśa that has influenced Kannaḍa more. Joindu's (c. 600) *Paramappayāsu*, Kanakāmara's *Karakandacariu*, Siricanda's *Kahākosu*, Hāla's *Gāhā-sattasai*, and some other *kavyas* such as *Sanatkumāra cariam*, *Bhavisattakahā*—all belong to the Apabhraṃśa group. There are Apabhraṃśa *gāhās* quoted in Kannaḍa *Vaddārādhane* and other works. Main works and Kāvyas of Prakrit written in Karṇāṭaka also belong to *Apabhraṃśa*; for example the works of Puṣpadanta.

The influence of Jaina Śaurasenī is also almost on par with that of Apabhraṃśa. *Pavayanasāra*, *Pamcattikāya*, *Chappāhuḍa*, *Mūlācāra*, *Kattigeyānupekkha* are some of the important works of Jaina Śaurasenī that have influenced Kannaḍa literature. Next comes Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī of which the main works to influence Kannaḍa are *Paumacariya* of Vimalasuri, *Uttarājjhayana* of Devendra's commentary, *Samaraicchakahā* of Haribhadra, etc. The only work of Paiśācī Prakrit to influence Kannaḍa literature is, of course that great classic of universal importance, Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*. Contribution of Yāpanīya writers is also worth pondering, though Digambara Jain literature dominated in Karṇāṭaka. The entire *Bhagavatī Ārādhanā* and its commentaries are the total effort and contributions of Yāpanīya branch.

What remains now, towards the end of this paper, is to find out whether Karṇāṭaka has also influenced Prakrit. It would be appropriate to consider this aspect of influence as mutual between Prakrit and Kannaḍa. Here are some suggestions confirming the influence of Kannaḍa on Prakrit.

One of the words occurring in an Aśokan inscription at Brahmmagiri in Karṇāṭaka is 'Isila' (3rd century B.C.). This word has been interpreted earlier as Prakrit—'*ṛṣi*', the derivation of which was, however, doubtful. 'Isila' is a Prakritised Kannaḍa word. It is derived from Kannaḍa *esil* (a fort); *eyil* is a cognate word in Tamil. Kannaḍa *esil*, Tamil *eyil* both come from a common Dravidian verbal base *ec-eccu* (to shoot an arrow); *eccu*, *ese*, *esu*—are the variant forms of the same meaning. (cf. Sanskrit *iṣn*, *iṣukāra*, *iṣukṛt* meaning arrow, arrow-maker—ed.) Therefore the Prakrit work 'Isila' from Kannaḍa language,

signifies only as a place for shooting (arrows); i.e. a fort from where arrows were shot; other scholars have also endorsed this suggestion.

Scholars have discussed some Kannaḍa words used in *Gāhā-sattasai* of Hāla, who has styled himself as a Chief of the people of Karṇāṭaka (Kuntalajanapadeśvara). Kannaḍa nouns such as *poṭṭa* (stomach), *tuppa* (ghee); and verbs like *peṭṭu* (to strike), *tīr* (to become possible) are freely used in this Prakrit work.

Dr. A.N. Upadhye's paper 'Kanarese words in Deśī Lexicons' exclusively deals with this aspect, where he has very positively affirmed Kannaḍa influence. It is but expected that Kannaḍa has influenced Prakrit because of the closer contacts of these two languages for nearly ten centuries. Apart from linguistic findings, a study of literary impact of Kannaḍa literature on Prakrit is still a desideratum.

Pūrva Purāṇa of Jinasena and *Cāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇa*— A Comparative Study

S.P.Patil

Jinasenācārya's (A.D. 815-577) *Pūrva Purāṇa* has a unique place in the tradition of Jaina Purāṇas. His plan was to compose a whole *Mahāpurāṇa*, but he could complete only 42 *parvas* and breathed his last. His disciple Guṇabhadrācārya completed the remaining portion of the *Pūrva Purāṇa* and also *Uttara-Purāṇa*. According to some scholars Jinasenācārya is supposed to be the first to write a Jaina Purāṇa. But we have the references to Kavi-Parameśvara in Jinasena as the author of a Jaina Purāṇa in prose style. Jinasena was a disciple of Vīrasena. Ācārya Daśaratha and Ācārya Vinayasena were also the disciples of Vīrasena. Jinasena was a royal-teacher, 'Rājaguru' in the court of Amoghavarṣa Nṛpatuṅga of Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty. The *Pūrva Purāṇa* is known for its rich scriptural knowledge, first hand experience of worldly affairs and highest poetic diction. Dr. Sidheshwar Bhattacharya has rightly said that it is an encyclopedia of Indian life. Social, political, economic and cultural life of that period is very vividly described in *Pūrva Purāṇa*.

Cāvuṇḍarāya is said to be a *samyaktva cūḍāmaṇi* embodied with the ideals of the 10th century's heroic qualities. He was a great warrior, a general, a minister and above all a pious man of religion, upholding ethical values by his practice. He could translate his sublime thought into action, through erecting the statue of Gommaṭa at Śravaṇabelgoḷa. His thorough study of scriptures under the guidance of Nemicandrācārya and Ajitasenācārya helped him to write *Mahāpurāṇa* in Kannada prose. His interest in common people is clearly evident from the fact that when Sanskrit was dominant he set it aside and adopted Kannada prose as the medium of his work. Besides his two teachers, his companion-friend was the Kavicakravartī Ranna. Their talent, qualities, attainments and inclination towards the common welfare were the sources of his inspiration.

It is commonly known that the *Cāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇa* is the translation and condensed form of Jinasena-Guṇabhadra's *Mahāpurāṇa*. But the common features and the variations of these two works reveal to us that *Cāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇa* has a very distinct character, which gives it a permanent place in the history of Kannada literature. Here is an attempt to give a bird's eye view of *Pūrva Purāṇa* and *Cāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇa*.

Mahābala-Bhava

Atibala was a Vidyādhara, who ruled over Alakāpura of Gandhila Viṣaya in Jambudvīpa. Manoharī was his queen. Mahābala was born to them. This detail is described nearly in 157 stanzas (I.4 : 42 to 198) of *Pūrva Purāṇa*. Cāvuṇḍarāya is not interested in all these details. He has brought the content of this portion within 10-12 prose lines. The description of 11 stanzas of *Pūrva Purāṇa* is condensed to a single sentence as 'knowledge, wealth and treasure are the offspring of *puṇya*.' Without body the Jīva is not in existence. Therefore *pāpa-puṇya* (sin or virtue) are not dependent on it. 'Dead cannot take birth, the person who gives others will loose'.[1] Saying this Cāvuṇḍarāya has not followed *Pūrva Purāṇa*. He has given recognition to local usages of language and their approach to mysterious things.

The illustration narrated by Svayambuddha is an ideal example to exhibit the literary and artistic qualities of Cāvuṇḍarāya. King Aravinda in his anger rushed with bare dagger in his hand, but tumbled down the steps of the well and fell down with the dagger pierced in his stomach which had come out in his back; for the outer skeleton Cāvuṇḍarāya is indebted to earlier authors, but handles it independently. *Pūrva Purāṇa* tells us that "Aravinda was in anger and fell down in the well and died". Cāvuṇḍarāya adds more information which is helpful and convincing. As an eye-witness he narrates that Arvinda was in anger or rather blind with rage, a bare dagger was in his hand; he fell down and it passed through his stomach and came out in his back. A great general, who is well-versed in the use and effects of dagger and other weapons can very vividly describe it. The three stages—namely 1. climbing steps of the well, 2. tumbling down and 3. the dagger passing through the stomach—are evidence of the originality of his imagination and also effective presentation. He proves himself to be a good story teller.

Cāvuṇḍarāya has not condensed all the details of the *Pūrva Purāṇa*. At certain stages he has expanded the original idea. Śatabala realised the futility of life, decided to take to ascetic life, handed over the burden of the kingdom to his son Atibala, observed penance, and was

liberated from the physical body and became God in Mahendra Kalpa. At this juncture *Pūrva Purāṇa* advises: 'Son, Jaina dharmá is a supreme religion and is a means to progress.'[2] Cāvuṇḍarāya is not satisfied with the tone of the sentence. He has enlarged it to read: 'Remember, Jinadharma is responsible for heaven or hell (*svarga* or *apavarga*).' The details of Mahābala worshipping Svayambuddha of *Pūrva Purāṇa* encouraged Cāvuṇḍarāya to make it more convincing. He agrees that Jinadharma is responsible for heaven or hell. So with liberal gifts and honour of victory (i.e. Jayapatra) he felicitated Svayambuddha.[3]

Lalitāṅga Bhava

The details of Lalitāṅga Bhava in *Pūrva Purāṇa* are described in nearly 65 stanzas (from I.5-254 to I.6-25). Cāvuṇḍarāya has avoided the details and succeeded in condensing them in only 10 prose sentences and set an example in the art of condensing.

Vajrajaṅgha Bhava

Vajrajaṅgha was remembering Svayamprabhā, his life partner in a previous birth. She was born as daughter to Vajradanta and Lakṣmīmatī, the rulers of Puṇḍarikiṇi. Śrīmatī was her name. Once she went to worship Yaśodara-muṇi along with her attendant Paṇḍite. As she saw the Devaśamūha who had come to worship Yaśodara-muṇi, she recollected the sweet memory of her previous birth and fainted. After coming back to consciousness she said: "I, in the third previous birth to this, was born to Nāgadatta Seṭṭi and Vasudattā of Pāṭali village as a last child after five brothers and two sisters. Because of my *karmodaya* I lost my parents; grandmother used to feed me. But the dirty smell of my body made everybody hate me. So I was staying in Pretavana (graveyard) as a nameless child (Nirnāmike). *Pūrva Purāṇa* describes the *karmodaya* of Śrimatī in her previous birth. But the picture of a deserted, neglected, humble, dispassionate child is not seen there. Cāvuṇḍarāya describes the results of *karmodaya* vividly and narrates the condition of namelessness. Nobody is there to utter her name. She has no name by which one can call her affectionately. Such a life she was forced to lead. All these additional details are the contributions of Cāvuṇḍarāya. It is clear that he has not only translated *Mahāpurāṇa* as it is. Adopting the details he has exhibited his sense of judiciousness. But the whole credit does not go to Cāvuṇḍarāya as scholars[4] have pointed out that he owes greatly to the *Ādipurāṇa* of Pampa.[5] He has literally followed Pampa to give

liveliness to his narration and the present incident is an example of this.

Śrīmatī told Paṇḍite about her husband and her determination to live as a maiden as long as he was not found. She wanted to meet him in this life also. Paṇḍite promised to find him out. So Śrīmatī came with a picture drawn by her[6] and handed it over to Paṇḍite. The narration of this episode is not as touching in *Cāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇa* as it is in *Pūrva-Purāṇa*. Jinasena gives more details.

> Utkīrṇa iva devos'ou paśyādyāpi mano mama adhitiṣṭhati
> daivena rūpeṇānangatām gataḥ.[7]

Even to this day his appearance is in her mind as of a stone statue and with the help this memory she has drawn the picture. The *Pūrva Purāṇa* gives us the intensity of her love which is alive in the next birth also and she can see her husband of previous birth just like a *stone statue*. This lively enumeration is missing in *Cāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇa.* While summarising Cāvuṇḍarāya has left out some details and we can say that while doing so some such lively episodes are missing.

King Vajrajaṅgha saw the gathering and disappearance of autumnal clouds and became disinclined to worldly affairs. He decided to accept asceticism.[8] This has been elaborately described in *Cāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇa* : Vajrajaṅgha standing on the terrace of his palace saw the gathering of autumnal clouds. That structure inspired him to construct a *caityālaya* of that design. So he asked canvas to be brought to sketch the design, but saw the clouds disappearing. It made him renounce worldly desires. He installed his son on the throne, observed penance and got liberated himself.[9] The observation of autumnal clouds, the formation of various natural designs, the idea to construct an ideal temple and in order to preserve the design the desire to draw it on a canvas—all these details become lively. For the effectiveness of this picture Cāvuṇḍarāya is grateful to Pampa's *Ādipurāṇa*. But Cāvuṇḍarāya, in order to develop the story, to distinguish the characters and their feelings and emotions borrows liberally from others and proves himself to be a successful comprehender.

The situation in which Śrīmatī and Vajrajaṅgha died embracing each other in their bedroom is also vivid in *Cāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇa.*[10] It reminds us of the same situation in *Ādipurāṇa*[11] of Pampa-Mahākavi. In such cases he sets aside the tradition of *Pūrva Purāṇa* and followed Pampa's *Ādipurāṇa*. Cāvuṇḍarāya has given impetuousness to the flow of the story and shown artistic skill in abridging.

Ṛṣabhadeva Bhava

Episodes of Nābhi the fourteenth Manu, his queen Marudevī, of Devendra who anticipating the birth of Tīrthaṅkara sent Kubera to increase the riches of the kingdom and heavenly ladies to attend Marudevī, etc., occur in details in the *Pūrva Purāṇa*. The matter of nearly 100 stanzas has been condensed by Cāvuṇḍarāya in 10-12 prose lines. He has also omitted Garbhāvataraṇa Kalyāṇa and touched Janmāvataraṇa Kalyāṇa in brief. Even the Aṣṭavidhārcana is condensed by him as—'Gandha mālyādigaḷindarcisi'.[12] *Pūrva Purāṇa* devotes a stanza to this:

> Gandhairdhūpaiśca dīpaiśca sākṣataiḥ kusumodakaiḥ
> mantra putaiḥ phalaiḥ sārghyaḥ surendrā vibhumījire.[13]

It devotes 263 stanzas to describe the childhood and youth of Ṛṣabha.[14] Cāvuṇḍarāya gives the details in brief. The reference to Yaśavati's sixteen dreams and Ṛṣabha explaining meaning of the dreams is not available in *Cāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇa*. He mentions Subāhu-mahīpati descending from the *sarvārthasiddhi* born to Yasaśvati.[15]

Renunciation is a very important event in the life of Ṛṣabhadeva. Indra came and had a dance of Nīlāñjanā with a musical concert. While the whole court was spellbound she realised her end and disappeared in the wings. Indra wanted not to disappoint the audience, created another character and saw that the dance proceeded. Nobody realised any change. But Ṛṣabhadeva noticed and realised the uncertainty of human life and decided to renounce the world.[16] The above detail is a faithful translation of *Pūrva Purāṇa*. But this episode is described very artistically by Pampa. It is a memorable scene. Cāvuṇḍarāya has followed Pampa's *Ādipurāṇa* many a time. But we wonder why he has not adopted Pampa's details here.

Pūrva Purāṇa has devoted nearly 780 stanzas to describe the penance and meditation of Ṛṣabhadeva and Samavasaraṇa.[17] After the attainment of *kevalajñāna* Saudharmendra celebrated Kevalajñāna Kalyāṇa. Cāvuṇḍarāya has omitted Bhagavad-dharmopadeśa[18] and the discussion about the philosophy in Bhagavad-vihāra-varṇanā[19] and only highlighted the main events.

The description of the bank of river Gaṅgā, the soldiers camping there and Bharata 'digvijaya' is vividly portrayed in *Pūrva Purāṇa*. Cāvuṇḍarāya basically being a general, expert in warfare (*samara dhurandhara*), would have given a lively picture of soldiers' camp and battlefield. It was a rare opportunity for him to exhibit his talent as a great

warrior. But we are surprised to see his silence. But even then he has given some glimpses which are rare and notable. Bharata observed fast for three days and slept on grass-mat and worshipped 'Pañca-Parameṣṭhi.[20] The rituals or customs which Bharata or Cāvuṇḍarāya had observed before the outbreak of the battle is recorded here. He rather feels it necessary to have firm reverence and pious feelings before he sets out for conquest. The practical experience of the battlefield and complete involvement are described in the character of Bharata.

Bharatacakri who was very keen to have his 'Vijaya Praśasti' written was surprised to see the name of former kings there. He lost his pride to a certain extent and probably to show that the world is interested in self, removed one name and got his name written instead[21], according to *Pūrva Purāṇa*. But *Cāvuṇḍarāya* mentions Bharata as 'galitamada',[22] one who is free from pride. He also adds that seeing 'Vṛsabhācala' he was tempted to record his victory 'tataḥ kiñchit skhaldagarvo' of *Pūrva Purāṇa* has been replaced by 'galita-mada'. Though it is not his original contribution he has rightly followed the spirit of *Ādipurāṇa* of Pampa. Pampa says—'Sordudu Koḷagoṇḍu, Garva-Rasa'. The pride which was stored in the form of a pond was leaked out. Cāvuṇḍarāya proves himself to be an artistic compiler.

According to *Pūrva Purāṇa*, Bharata went to worship Jineśvara when his army went near Kailāsa.[23] Cāvuṇḍarayā has modified it to get the advantage out of the situation. In order to see and offer his respect and worship Ādijineśvara he went to Kailāsa.[24] Bharata's intention and devotion are brought to light through this situation. Having said this Cāvuṇḍarāya says goodbye to 60 stanzas in which *Pūrva Purāṇa* describes the Kailāsa mountain and again sticks to the description of Samavasaraṇa which has covered five pages. He has realised the importance of Samavasaraṇa and provided sufficient space for it.

The conflict between Bharata and Bahubali is also condensed in *Cāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇa*. Bharata sends a letter to Bahubali and his other brothers.[26] This throws light on the role of Cāvuṇḍarāya's duty as a 'Sandhi-Vigrahi' and minister. Efforts of compromise fail and Bahubali defeats Bharata in all three modes of battle. Bahubali realises the futility of human life, Bharata's desire for kingdom, and decides to renounce everything and go for penance. At this stage Bharata bows down to Bahubali's feet.

The interesting *Jayapurāṇa* is in both the works. Gāndhārī expresses to Kubera Kānta her desire and love for him. He replied to her that he was neither a man nor a woman. When Gandhārī met Kubera Kānta's pregnant wife Priyadattā asked her about this. 'Except for me,

for all others he is neither man nor woman,[27] was a reply by Priyadattā. Here, Cāvuṇḍaraya has followed the original but brought out the situation effectively by his art of narration.

Saint Bhīma before he took to ascetic life had accepted vows (*mūla-vratas*) and when his grandmother came to know this, she told him, 'poor people like us how can we observe these vows? So let us go and return them to him who had given them you.[28] The narration reminds us of a similar situation in *Vaḍḍārādhane*.[29] But minute observation makes out the distinction clear. In *Vaḍḍārādhane* the ascetic is abused and Nāgaśrī's father is proud of his own religion. But here the old lady is worried about the poverty and seems to try to persuade him but does not succeed.[30] Here Cāvuṇḍarāya gives stress to Bharata's repentance. He adds colour to glorify the character of Bharata.

Bahubali stood in *kāyotsarga* posture for penance for a long time and as a result there were creepers spread over his body. *Pūrva Purāṇa* says that heavenly ladies attended to remove the creepers from his body. But Cāvuṇḍarāya mentions that Brāhmī and Sundarī did so in the guise at heavenly ladies.[31] Probably Cāvuṇḍarāya intends to exhibit sisterly love and affection. This change from heavenly ladies to sisters is more convincing.

'Dvijotpatti' and 'Garbhānvaya Kriyā' have occupied nearly 700 stanzas in *Pūrva Purāṇa*, which Cāvuṇḍarāya condenses in 8-10 prose lines.

According to *Pūrva Purāṇa* Bharata himself realises the meaning of the dreams which he had.[32] Cāvuṇḍarāya changes it and says that Bharata went to Ādibhaṭṭāraka to know the meaning of dreams. It is difficult to observe and so he decides to return the vows with respect. Cāvuṇḍarāya is grateful to *Vaḍḍārādhane* but goes further and adds more colour to the original.

Pūrva Purāṇa narrates Bharata's sorrow at the time of Ṛṣabhadeva's Nirvāṇakalyāṇa with a view that Ṛṣabha's physical body will vanish. But he saw heavenly gods in pleasure and recovered himself.[33] Cāvuṇḍarāya does not give importance to heavenly gods. He knows the spiritual height of Bharata. Fellowmen consoled him and he became calm.

The removing of creepers from Bahubali's body by Brahmī and Sundarī, and Bharata going to Kailāsa Parvata to worship Ṛṣabha and again going to Ṛṣabha to realise the meaning of dreams, indicate the humanistic touch given by Cāvuṇḍarāya. Jinasena, a great Ācārya, true to his ascetic life seems to remain away from worldly affairs and worldly love and affection.

In short, *Cāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇa* varies from *Pūrva Purāṇa* in many respects. Cāvuṇḍarāya creates new situation, gives human touch to characters and strikes a balance between ascetic and householder's life. In many cases he moves away from *Pūrva Purāṇa* and shows the influence of other great works like *Ādipurāṇa* of Pampa and *Vaḍḍārādhane*. In short his interest is in common people and his effort is to convince them.

NOTES

1. *Cāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇa*, p. 18.
2. *Pūrva Purāṇa*, I-V-145.
3. *Cāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇa*, p. 21.
4. T.V. Venkatachal Shastri : *Cāvuṇḍarāya*, pp. 25-26.
5. *Ādipurāṇa* 3 : 33 va-3 & Va.
6. *Cāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇa*, p. 25.
7. *Pūrva Purāṇa*, I-6-162.
8. *Ibid.* I.8.51.
9. *Cāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇa*, p. 30.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.
11. *Ādipurāṇa*-Pampa, pp. 5-22.
12. *Cāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇa* pp. 41-42.
13. *Pūrva Purāṇa* I. 13-201.
14. *Ibid.*, I. 14. 213 stanzas and 15. 50 stanzas.
15. *Cāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇa*, p. 43.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
17. *Pūrva Purāṇa* I. 21-268; 23-316; 24-196.
18. *Ibid.*, I. 24-2.
19. *Ibid.* I. 25.288.
20. *Cāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇa*, p. 49.
21. *Pūrva Purāṇa* II, 32; 139-154.
22. *Cāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇa*, p. 51.
23. *Pūrva Purāṇa* II, 33 : 11 , 12.
24. *Cāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇa*, p. 51.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 52-58.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 58.
27. *Cāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇa*, p. 68.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
29. *Vaḍḍārādhane*, pp. 13-22.
30. *Cāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇa*, p. 58.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
32. *Pūrva Purāṇa*, II, 41 : 1,2.
33. *Pūrva Purāṇa* II, 47 : 281.

Haribhadrasūri's *Viṃśati-Viṃśikā*[1]: An Approach

V.M. Kulkarni

Haribhadrasūri (700-770 A.D.) is a very versatile and voluminous author. Tradition credits him with the authorship of 1400 *Prakaraṇas*. This number is an exaggeration. According to the latest list and classification of his works, the total number of his available works is 39; 8 more are mentioned against his name in other works, and the number of works attributed to him but which are not definitely known to be his, comes to 26.[2]

This list and classification shows how Haribhadrasūri has tried various branches of literature. In the galaxy of writers, especially Prakrit writers, he is a star of the first magnitude. An eminent logician and philosopher, a master satirist, a witty critic, a consummate artist, a profound 'psychologist', a learned commentator, a finished story-teller, a poet of no mean order—these are the diverse facets of his versatile genius. He wields a facile pen and displays command of language, both Sanskrit and Prakrit. His fame as *yuga-pradhāna* chiefly rests on his literary activity for the cause of the Jains and Jainism.

With this introduction we now turn to his brief but comprehensive work *Viṃśati-Viṃśikā* (*VV*).

The title: It may be rendered in English as *Score of Sets of Twenties*. The title is thus explained:

> Viṃśatiḥ ślokāḥ parimāṇaṃ yasyāḥ sā viṃśatiḥ /
> Viṃśatīnāṃ vīṃśatiḥ yasyām sā viṃśati-viṃśikā //

This work is also known as *Viṃśati-Viṃśatikā*. This title is thus explained:

> Viṃśatiḥ viṃśatayaḥ yasyām sā viṃśati-viṃśatiḥ /
> Viṃśati-viṃśatireva viṃśati-viṃśatikā //

It is not unlikely that Haribhadrasūri was influenced by the titles of Buddhist texts in choosing titles for a few of his works. His titles *Ṣaḍ-darśana-samuccaya*, *Śāstra-vārttā-samuccaya* remind us of the Buddhist works of Diṅnāga and Asaṅga, *Pramāṇasamuccaya* and *Abhidharma-samuccaya*, respectively; his works *Dharmabindu* and *Yogabindu* remind us of Diṅnāga's *Nyāyabindu*. The title of the present work reminds us of Vasubandhu's *Viṃśikā* and *Triṃśikā*.

Regarding the two forms of the title, both are grammatically correct. Similar titles we come across in the Brahmanical literature also. *Siṃhāsana-dvātriṃśikā*, "Thirty-two Stories about the Throne", and *Vetāla-pañcaviṃśatikā*, "Twenty-five Stories of Vetala", are well known throughout the length and breadth of India.

Its Contents: Haribhadrasūri chooses to present to his readers the following twenty topics in Twenty Sets of Twenties. He lists these topics in the first *Viṃśikā* called *Adhikāra-Viṃśikā:*

1) *Adhikāra*—List of the Topics dealt with in *VV*; 2) *Lokānāditva*- Beginninglessness of the world, 3) *Kula-nīti-loka-dharma*—Family traditions and popular customs of the country; 4) *Carama-parivarta*—the last existence preceding liberation; 5) *Tat-bījādi-krama*, The Seed, etc., of the Tree of Dharma; 6) *Samyaktva*—Description of *Samyaktva* (right faith) from the practical point of view; 7) *Dāna- vidhi*—The Mode of Charity (and its three kinds; 8) *Pūjā-vidhi*—The Mode of Worship; 9) *Śrāvaka-dharma*—The Duties of a Householder; 10) *Śrāvaka-pratimā*—The eleven observances of a householder; 11) *Yati- dharma*—The Duties of a Monk; 12) *Dvividha-śikṣā*—Two-fold Religious Instruction; 13) *Bhikṣā-vidhi*—The Mode of Begging; 14) *Tadantarāya*—Unforeseen obstacles in the way of eating the alms; 15) *Ālocanā-vidhi*—The Confessions of Faults; 16) *Prāyaścitta-vidhi*—Sinful Acts and Atonements; 17) *Yoga-vidhāna*—The Mode of Yoga, 18) *Kevala-jñāna*—Perfect knowledge; 19) *Siddha-Vibhakti*—Categories of liberated souls; and 20) *Siddha-sukha*—Perfect Bliss of the liberated souls. This list of topics is comprehensive and covers some of the most important topics of Jainism. The work, therefore, although short, is comprehensive and may rightly be described as a *prakaraṇa-grantha*.

The Nature of a prakaraṇa-grantha: The dictionary gives the meanings of *prakaraṇa* as (i) a subject, topic, (ii) a section, chapter or any smaller division of a work, (iii) a species of a drama with invented plot. These meanings are not relevant in the context of our book on hand. One definition of a *prakaraṇa* runs as follows:

śāstraikadeśasaṃvaddhaṃ śāstrakāryāntare sthitam/
āhuḥ prakaraṇam nāma granthabhedam vipaścitaḥ//

According to this definition, a work which aims at expounding some (important) tenet relating to a system of thought is called a *prakaraṇa-grantha*. The two phrases in the first half of the above stanza amount to the same thing—'Related to or dealing with a portion or section or part (*ekadeśa*) of a *śāstra*' and 'based on one of the central topics in *śāstra*' mean one and the same thing. In other words, this definition is not comprehensive, it applies to a book dealing with a portion or section or part of a *śāstra*. K.V. Abhyankar explains the term as "A work in which the treatment (of a *śāstra*) is given in the form of topics, by arranging the original *sūtras* or rules differently so that all the rules relating to a particular topic are found together", and cites *Prakriyākaumudī* and *Siddhānta-kaumudī* as examples. This definition too is not applicable to the text in hand, strictly speaking. For there is no question of "arranging the *sūtras* or rules differently" unless we enlarge the scope of the meaning of *sūtras* to cover teachings set forth in source books and authoritative texts and commentaries on them. The name *prakaraṇa-grantha* was most probably used to distinguish a work from the *ākara-grantha* (Seminar Work or Source book). A *prakaraṇa-grantha* is a systematically and topic-wise arranged *saṃgraha*—compendium—of the scattered and discursive teachings of its corresponding seminal or source work or works. In this sense, *Artha-saṃgraha, Tarka-saṃgraha, Siddhānta-bindu* based on Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā, Nyāya-sūtras and Vaiśeṣika-sūtras and Śaṅkara-Vedānta respectively are *prakaraṇa-granthas*. In this sense, the *Viṃśati-Viṃśikā* too is a *prakaraṇa-grantha* based on sacred and authoritative Jain Sūtras and Niryukti, Bhāṣya and such other commentaries on them.

Its Language

The language of this text is Prakrit, to be more specific, Jain Māhārāṣṭrī—which is employed by all Śvetāmbara writers in their Prakrit (prose and) verse and does not much differ from classical Māhārāṣṭrī.

Its Structure and Style: The *Viṃśati-Viṃśikā* obviously intends to supply a compendium of the principal teachings of Jainism in Twenty Sets of Twenties. In a sense these sets are quite independent of one another as each set deals with one topic only and is a complete unit by itself. But from another point of view, these sets may be looked

upon as closely connected with each other as each preceding set anticipates the succeeding one. His self-imposed condition of completing one topic in 20 *gāthās* only proves a handicap to him. Some of *gāthās* are too elliptical. The author combines brevity with accuracy all right but not with lucidity. Brevity is the soul of wit, no doubt, but brevity at the cost of intelligibility is not commendable. Occasionally, Haribhadrasūri errs too much on the side of brevity rendering the text of the *gāthā* obscure. Of course it must be admitted that obscurity of sense is sometimes due to corrupt readings also.

Long-felt need of a truly critical edition

Unfortunately, there is no *svopajña* commentary on *Viṃśati-Viṃśikā*, nor any commentary of a later commentator on it, with the only exception of Upādhyāya Yaśovijayaji's commentary on one of the twenty *Viṃśikās*, namely *Yoga-Viṃśikā*. Prof. K.V. Abhyankar's edition is based on six different MSS, one printed edition of *Yoga-Viṃśikā* and Pt. Sukhlalji's edition of *Yoga-Viṃśikā* with the commentary of Upādhyāya Yaśovijayaji on it. Prof. Abhyankar's edition contains Sanskrit introduction, Sanskrit rendering of the *gāthās* of the text, notes in English and an appendix. The editor observes at one place in the Sanskrit introduction that all the *MSS* bristle with many scribal errors and that he has not been able to explain the text at some places satisfactorily. The edition is good as far as it goes. But it would be desireable to have another critical edition based on Prof. Abhyankar's edition and the corresponding relevant passages from the seminal works and other works of Haribhadrasūri himself, where parallel thoughts and themes are treated by him, and with fuller explanatory notes is a desideratum.

NOTES

1. Viṃśati-Viṃśika by Haribhadra Suri, ed. by K.V. Abhyankar, 1981, Sadashiv Peth, Pune-2, 1932.
2. Samedarsī Ācārya Haribhadra, by Pt. Sukhlaji Saṃghavi, Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur, 1963.

Vijaya of the Sixth Story of *Bṛhatkathākośa* of Hariṣeṇācārya

M.D. Vasantharaj

'Jaya Vijaya Kathānaka' is the title of the story. At the end of the story we find the statement 'iti Vicikit-sānvitajaya-Nirvicikitsānvitavijaya-Kathānakam'. *Vicikitsā* means 'entertaining doubt' and *nirvicikitsā* means 'free from doubt', and as such, the aim of the story is to illustrate how a person of doubtful nature meets with calamity in life and, on the other hand, a person who is free from doubt gets prosperity in life and finally achieves emancipation—Moksa. *Nirvicikitsā* is one of the eight Aṅgas of perfect Samyagdarśana. Prabhācandra, the Sanskrit commentator of *Ratna-karaṇḍa* Śrāvakācāra of Svāmī Samantabhadra, tells the story of Uddayana Mahārāja as an illustrative story, which is different from the above mentioned one of *Bṛhatkathākośa*.

Apart from the theme illustrating *vicikitsā* and *nirvicikitsā* the story, it appears, has a historical value. The story in brief is as follows:

There was a town Ujjayinī in the Bhārata country. Gaganacandra was the king and Gagana Śrī was his wife. Gaganāitya was the king of Siṃhala and Gagana Sundarī was his wife. They had two sons, namely Jaya and Vijaya. Gaganacandra and Gaganāditya were close friends. One day Gaganāditya, though strong and sturdy, died suddenly. Hearing the sudden demise of his friend the lord of Ujjainī became very sad. He then arranged, through the wellwishers, to bring Gaganāditya's two sons to his town, consoled them and provided them all comforts. One day, when they were all together the king called the cook and ordered him to prepare a special kind of delicious food by name 'Viṣānna'. The cook prepared the same and served it to the two boys. Having taken the supper the two boys went to bed. In the middle of the night Jaya woke up and said to his brother "My tongue has become rough like a lotus stalk and my body trembles like a leaf of a tree blown up by wind".

Vijaya who could read his brother's mind thereon said, "Why is it

that my tongue has not become rough and also my body is not trembling?": Jaya replied: "My brother did you not hear the words of the king in the midst of the assembly: 'eh cook, be quick to bring the excellent beneficial food—viṣānna?' Men of intellect are of the opinion that cooked rice mixed with poison is 'Viṣānna'—and the same was eaten by us. Because of it my tongue has become rough and my body is trembling". Having listened to these foolish words of his brother Vijaya, the wise one, said: "If your tongue is rigid and your body trembling, then tell me why I am not suffering from such ailments, though I partook the same meal? Being perplexed you have construed wrong meaning of the word 'Viṣānna'; the wise ones define it as a special (*viśiṣṭa*) kind of cooked rice, excellent, possessing various flavours and splendid; it bestows lustre, nourishment, strength and vigour to the living beings. Therefore with no fear the Viṣānna was partaken by us. It has also been said—"O Lord Jina; for those learned ones who are desirous of attaining liberation and who have the knowledge of the taste of your preachings, the other teachings shall not have any taste for them just as for those who have tasted Viṣānna. Giving up *vicikitsā* which brings up doubt and unsteadiness in mind, get yourself purified." Although Jaya was thus instructed by Vijaya, he soon died gripped with doubt and so being subjected to miseries he wandered in the terrific ocean of *saṃsāra* heavily flooded with water of anger, terrific with crocodiles of Māna (pride), the waves caused by Māyā (decit), and the waves of greed spread over by the winds of various types of Yoni (birth) centres".

Vijaya, as he was free from *vicikitsā*, lived there being looked after by the king with care and respect. One day he returned to his island. Having conquered the enemies he ruled over the island for long time, abandoned all attachment, and took to Jaina penance. With a firm mind, keeping away the *dravya* and *bhāva* outward and inner forms of *vicikitsā*, he performed for long and at last attained emancipation.

The above piece of story, it is true, appears to be fictitious; in particular the names Gaganacandra, Gagana Śrī, Gaganāditya and Gagana Sundarī appear to be imaginary names. However, it is definite that Hariṣeṇācārya is not the original author of any of the stories narrated in *Bṛhatkathākośa*. He has just rendered into Sanskrit that was there in a Prakrit commentary on *Bhagavatī Ārādhana*, also known by the name *Mūlārādhanā*. A good number of these stories are based on historical events, and the above mentioned story too appears to be based on some event of history. In the history of Ceylon we find the name of king Vijaya as the one who established a kingdom there. The above story

doctrine in Jainism. The cultivation of at least, some of the practicable aspects of the virtue of *vinaya* by every member of the society, would considerably help us towards national harmony and progress, further leading to international peace and prosperity.

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Law and Religion: The Hindu and Jain Approach

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This contribution consists of a necessarily brief discussion of the relationship of Hindu law and religion in India. While I am not saying much about Jaina law, which has at least since 1955, been subsumed under Hindu law, and has, for official practical purposes, virtually ceased to exist, what I do say about Hindu law and religion has wide repercussions for Jaina law also. Neither Hindu nor Jaina law is as centrally based on scripture or text as many scholars have made out. Neither Hinduism nor Jainism is a 'religion of the book', nor are Hindu and Jaina law found in the major scriptures of the respective religious tradition. Thus, what I learnt first of all from Professor Jain is applied here: the living religious and legal traditions of South Asia may be said to be based on textual authority, but they have developed their own momentum, which has reduced the scope for the practical application of textual sources. For Hindu law at least, as I shall show, this is not a new wisdom; some of the ancient texts tell us precisely this, and thus admit their own limitations.

Law and Religion

Following my appointment at School of Oriental and African Studies in 1981 to teach Hindu and Modern South Asian Laws, it was inevitable that I should soon become involved in the development of Religious Studies at SOAS, a sustained process during the 1980s, which has not led to the establishment of a separate Department of Religion and Philosophy. The 1980s also saw more focussed interest in the multifarious relationship of religion with law, in general as well as particularly on the Indian side, since Indian legal studies experienced a quite unforseen growth in the same period. My German training as an indologist enabled me to take an active part in both fields and to work in the interface of law and religion. The growing number of students in

this field helped this development, since their questions and specific concerns provide important stimuli for further thinking.

On the law side, a long-established S.O.A.S. course on Legal Systems of Asia and Africa provides a general jurisprudential introduction to cross-cultural legal study as well as short introductions to the major legal systems of Asia and Africa. By its very nature, this course addresses questions like the nature of law and its links with custom, morality and religion. The discussions on these topics have been a renewed challenge year after year. Since the establishment of a new core course in Religious Studies, Introduction to the Study of Religions, which asks similar questions as the law course, studying the relationship of law and religion has become ever more topical.

In both courses, students learn to see law and religion, respectively, as universal phenomena that appear in many different manifestations. In a place such as S.O.A.S., certainly, definitions of 'law' and of 'religion' cannot be developed restrictively so as to include only Western-type state laws and monotheistic religions. While agreed universal definitions of either phenomenon may never be achieved, there cannot really be any society without law, nor without religion. We must even go further and state, quite categorically, that no individual will be without an awareness of the categories of right and wrong, though, as we shall see, in South Asian contexts this comes out more as an awareness of a fluid order than of definitive rules. Similarly, there cannot be any individual without any perception of the existence of suprahuman forces, whatever those may be. Atheism, then, is an alternative religion, and agnostics are mutants of believers.

It does not seem to matter, either, what forms such perceptions take. They do not have to be formally expressed as beliefs or systemic entities found in rules. Even if they are not formulated in any way, they still exist, albeit invisibly, otherwise we would have to argue that a conflict-free simple society has no law and that simple meditation, for example, may not be religious. Those who know the different shades of Jain philosophy may have no conceptual problems of this kind, but in my experience a holistic view of law and religion constantly raises opposition by those who prefer to see formal structures and definitive rules and press certain sectarian perspectives.

Both religion and law, as basic elements and facts of human existence, show a considerable overlap between the two. But how are they distinguished? First of all, one should probably emphasise that their purpose may largely be the same, namely to guide individuals, to provide a framework within which socially responsible action may be

carried out, and to establish references beyond the individual's reach, since we all live in an environment that is not, ultimately, controllable by man. This last point may be considered peculiar to religion, creating a wider ambit than law as a social phenomenon could do. It seems to be for this reason that religious laws enjoy greater force of authority than laws made by man. From a comparative perspective, it is relevant to make the point that most legal systems in the world, even many Western laws, rely on this extra sanction emanating from the religious sphere. This makes the distinction of 'the religious' and 'the secular' look somewhat fictitious and to speak of particular state laws as 'secular' may be quite dishonest. This is shown by the current debate in Britain about blasphemy and the lack of protection for Muslim sensibilities in a basically Christian setup, as well as modern India's pretence of being a secular democracy, when in fact the whole ethos of the place is subject to the *dharma* complex.

A clearer differentiation of law and religion may exist in the sources of authority, however. While religious authority emanates from a source beyond man's control, whether divine or not, or from persons or things associated with this source, legal authority comes from man or human institutions. It may be in the form of a ruler's law, such as Austin's classic conceptualisation of law as state law, or it may take more democratic forms. Apart from that, however, there are many forms of law with which lawyers have always had great difficulties, in particular customs and conventions. Since they lack the elements of formality and certainty that lawyers constantly look for, they are often seen as extra-legal, which appears often as a devious way of depriving society of the authority to make its own rules.

The above view of authority takes the common top-down approach which seems to have been constantly favoured by experts in law and is now referred to as 'legal centralism.'[1] A similar approach can be detected in religion, obviously for the simple reason that it gives the bearers of religious authority extra power. However, if we were to take a bottom-up approach, every individual acquires a discretion in terms of both religion and law, though individual action is bound to be circumscribed by prevailing notions of propriety and of the nature of forces beyond man's control. In this scenario, the scope for individual discretion, though often limited in practice, is theoretically absolutely unlimited, leading to the development of new religious movements and legal systems all the time.

The really important question, then would not seem to be whether some particular phenomenon is religious or legal, but how it operates

in social reality. In our modern world, and certainly in India, the label of 'religion' has acquired eminently political significance. But at least those purporting to rely on religion admit that they do so, while emphasising the secular notion of 'state law' is a dishonest attempt to hide the influence of religious notions, however imperceptible they may be. In other words, there is no truly secular legal system providing rule systems of a more or less fluid nature in an entirely abstract sense, since all legal and religious systems appear linked to a particular culture and its notion and are, therefore, not neatly separable from each other.

Hindu law and religion

The beauty and importance of the Hindu example lies in the fact that we find here an unrivalled and somewhat continuous literary documentation of thought processes from c.1500 B.C. to our days, though periodically this date is put back a few thousands years by scholars concerned to emphasize the antiquity of ancient India. The fact that we have so much literary evidence, however, makes our task at once much easier and so much more difficult. We just cannot speculate, as one might be tempted to do in the case of unwritten traditions. The first task is to make sense of the literary evidence that we are so fortunate to possess. The dangers of inventing a tradition in this process of study seem very real indeed and a lot has, of course, been written about the 'invention' and 'distortion' of Hinduism.

It is now fairly well recognised that the interpretation of the earliest Hindu literature, when it began in the 19th century, has right from the start been marred by a number of conceptual errors: After all, an odd combination of British colonial interests and German romanticism is responsible for most of the early advances in indological scholarship.

First of all we find that Sanskrit texts were translated as a matter of philological science. If the Sanskrit did not make sense to a Western expert, he would be tempted to declare, often in a rather school-masterly fashion, that the text was wrong and should instead read so and so. Indian scholars, too, invented their own explanations and few scholars have been ready to admit that they did not really understand what they translated; even when they did this, it was often taken as polite understatement by subsequent generations.

Since the indological pioneers were mainly concerned with translating the texts, they by making them accessible to others in a European language, did not, at that stage, give sufficient attention to

the interpretation of what they translated. Those who then used these translations, often to write about religion and law, even if they knew their Sanskrit well, found it rather difficult to make coherent sense of what they found. One major conceptual error at this stage of indological research was to give Vedic words meanings that appeared, or seemed to appear, in later texts, like the *dharmaśāstra* which were better nown than the earlier literature. But when the Vedas were composed, if that is the right expression, there were probably no Upaniṣads and most certainly no *dharmaśāstras* yet!

In accordance with the rules of academia, such often quite wrong findings were then used and re-used, to become established knowledge, so that the secondary literature now sometimes contains a complete multiple muddle of concepts and ideas. I found the literature on the eight Indian forms of marriage a good example of such confusion.[3] In more general terms, the literature continues to speak of 'religion' and 'law' as separate entities, while Hindus tell us all the time that they see their religion as *sanātana-dharma*, the eternal *dharma*, i.e. the ever-changing concept of doing the right thing at the right time : the *dharma* complex does not seem to draw a clear distinction between the legal and the religious. Yet some Hindus may get annoyed with us if we tell them that there have been so many changes in their religious traditions that it is impossible to find any central authority, especially since this process of change and addition continues today and that it would be better to abandon the religious elements and to focus on law instead.

To understand the relationship of Hindu law and religion better, let us join the Vedic man, who lives in around 1500 B.C, in Northwest India, to find him as as part of an agricultural society, perhaps in almost paradisical conditions where abundant food grows on its own, ready for the picking without much effort. Clearly, we do not know much about the social and economic conditions at that time. The Vedic literature contains, however, very helpful indications about such matters, which do not directly interest us here.

The Vedic literature, (the four Vedas) first of all, has also preserved much evidence about what some people, at that time, thought about the world and man's place in it. Here is clear evidence of religion, never really disputed as such, because we have at once an impressive (and for scholars of Greek mythology, familiar) pantheon of Vedic deities that receive sacrifices from the human realm. At least, such sacrifices are directed towards this pantheon or members of it. While the genesis of this conceptualisation remains in the dark (the most prominent theory continues to be that the gods were originally natural

phenomena like sun and moon, fire and water, now deified; also that here we have non-Aryan influence) we have abundant detailed material about the nature of the Vedic sacrificial system. The famous intoxicating Soma, so rare later that we do no know till today whether it was a mushroom or some other plant, provided an important ritual ingredient. Equally important, and apparently gradually most important, were the offerings involving sacrificial fires, deified as Agni, the fire-god, who had a messenger and medium function.

The basically twofold purpose of such solemn sacrificial rituals is clear from the thousands of hymns which up the Vedas :

(i) There is a direct relationship between the sacrificer and the gods that are addressed. The sacrifice is clearly designed to provide benefits to the sacrificer, through or from the gods. The desired benefits are very real and, it has been said, earthly: good health and long life, the proverbial hundred autumns; progeny, leading to strength and continuity; and wealth, which brings strength and power. Here the gods seem to be under an obligation to respond appropriately to the sacrificers' suggestions. Compliance is sought to be achieved through ritual precision and by very elaborate methods of 'praising' individual deities, depicting them as the supreme deity, for example.

(ii) In the Vedic worldview, which forms the basis of both Hindu law and religion, the solemn sacrifice has a particular function in the cosmic context. Our Vedic man, being part of nature, sought to make sense of what went on around him. He saw the sun rise and set in an orderly fashion, watched the moon grow and wane, experience the regularity of day and night, seasons and changes in nature. Man watched himself die and being born. Yet all this regularity contained many irregular phenomena, it was not an entirely ordered system. As Vedic man began to think about all this, and the Vedas contain abundant references to this, the picture of an invisibly controlled complex system emerges. The Vedic man does not straight away ascribe the controlling power (and the creative power) to a big divine person - God, but sees this invisible power as something indefinite and undefinable that must always have been there. The Vedic man finds the celestial phenomena, i.e. the realm of the gods, just as much subject to this concept of order as himself. By sacrificing to various deities, the Vedic man therefore also seeks to re-create an ordered microcosmic universe that is seen in relation to, and in interaction with, macrocosmic order.

(iii) We know that this complex sacrificial system, which could well be pre-Aryan to some extent, must have proved ineffective. The gods simply did not comply with the constantly increased, very real

demands of the worshippers/sacrificers. So the system declined and the Vedic mode of sacrifice was considerably modified, in fact almost completely abandoned, and is almost totally unknown today.

The central Vedic concept of *ṛta*, 'order,' 'harmony', encompassing every aspect of existence in the cosmic whole, allows no distinction between law and religion. It also implies at once what becomes later elaborated in so many philosophical thought processes that are well-recorded : man as an individual in invisibly and also visibly linked with ultimately every aspect of this cosmic existence. In other words, the idea that man is a separate entity, apart from any other being, is very well present, but realistic observation leads the Vedic man to the conclusion that any individual cannot be an independent entity. Man, we see later, may be god-like or God-like, but this phenomenon of *interlinkedness* is never abandoned and seems to be, in fact, a major element of *Hinduness*, a core concept equivalent to the doctrinal core elements of other religions

At the same time, realistic observation yields a realisation of difference between each and every created being. While this may reinforce the ideas of individuality, at the same time the visible and invisible interlinkedness of the individual focusses attention on the whole, producing a concept of division of functions, of differences in the life purpose of individual created beings. This ultimately leads to the caste system as we know it and to the full development of the *varnāśramadharma* theories in classical HIndu thought.

We see, thus, the Vedic man engaged in seeking to make sense of the fact of human existence, and of man's place in this environment, which comprises more than just the visible. The focus of our thinkers is not just on the sacrificial elements of life, as a concentrated study of sacrificial texts might lead us to conclude. To the extent that the sacrificial techniques deteriorate into bargaining with members of the pantheon, the Vedic man develops the idea that, rather than elaborate and precise sacrificial action, perhaps any appropriate human action may have beneficial consequences. The concept of *karma*, 'action.' but really' 'retribution of any action,' now yields a theory that any individual action is bound to have consequences, be they negative, positive or quite simply neutral. The ideal of *dharma*, 'appropriate behavior,' later 'the individual's duty to do the right things at the right time,' thus becomes the central concept of Hinduism, arising out of *ṛta*, not replacing it, but emphasising clearly that now every individual is under an obligation to contribute well to the cosmic whole. Again, this is not really a question of belief, or of acceptance, it is taken to be the

fact of life, so essential that, in my experience, the average Hindu is quite surprised if we make a big issue out of this any try to 'explain' and study it. The notion itself seems so imbibed by Hindus, also today, that our questioning seems strange; yet on reflection many Hindus agree that the concept of an ordered whole influenced by multiple actions is central to their belief system. By developing the concept of *dharma*, then, the Vedic man has become the classical Hindu, whose every step is believed to have consequences.

It may be necessary at this stage to reiterate that *dharma* does not allow a distinction between religion and law. *Dharma* is also not religious law, it is a concept encompassing all aspects of human existence, of making contracts as much as in solemn sacrifices. The idea that Hinduism is a way of life rather than a religion is clearly born out by what the Vedic man has developed into classical Hinduism.

The big question now became who would control *dharma*, i.e, who would determine or establish what was conducive to the maintenance of order and the prevention of disorder. The texts, quite characteristically, focus on tradition, and so we find important verses like *Manusmṛti* 2.6 and 2.12 which explain the sources of *dharma*. These are basically (i) *śruti*, 'what was heard' - the Vedic literature: (ii) *smṛti*, 'what was remembered' - the classical Hindu literature (though this is a very wide term) ; (iii) *sadācāra* 'good conduct' or 'model behavior,' either of learned sages, or of any model figure in society; and (iv) *ātmanastuṣṭi*, 'the individual conscience.'[4]

We have here, as in Islam with its *sharia* ideal, a hierarchical listing of the sources of the very general core concept, a highly idealised ethical norm. While the Islamic jurists have been stressing the importance of 'divine legislation', this is not what happened in Hinduism.

The *śāstric* texts merely indicate this hierarchy and have left us to understand that the Vedas are the supreme source of *dharma*, next the vast *smṛti* literature, then the behaviour of the good and the learned, and finally individual discretion. This does go much further than Islam in placing the individual, in any life situation, under a very direct obligation to seek to achieve the ideal. The Chinese notion of *li*, however, seems very similar here.[5]

If we focus for a moment on real life, however, we may realise that the sequence of sources of *dharma* as given above is exactly reversed in real life situations. Robert Lingat stopped short of admitting that the most important source of *dharma* was in fact the individual Hindu's conscience.[6] Lingat, apparently, could not digest what he

found, arguing that approval of one's conscience "does not strike us as quite properly placed here, following upon sources which possess an authority exterior to man"[7], but I am fairly sure that we can go that far. All the time in an individual's existence, subconsciously or consciously, guidance is required about how best to act or behave, about what is the right thing to do. The *śāstric* texts do not mention this explicitly, most probably because it is the basic fact of life that needs no explanation. The intuitive process of self-searching that goes on all the time, however, constantly avoids any complications by the individual doing 'the right thing' more or less instinctively. Only if there is some insecurity will the individual look for the guidance of others. This could still be an almost intuitive inner process that leaves no visible traces. It could, however, also be a conscious search for guidance from a model figure in society. Only when that yields no satisfactory answers does the Hindu system advise guidance from textual sources, the Hindu scriptures, first *smṛti*, and then only *śruti*, the 'divinely revealed' sacred knowledge.

The contrast with the Islamic model, which developed so much later, is remarkable. Quite evidently, the Hindu system does not rely on scriptural authority throughout, as the Islamic system purports to, but does not do in practice, either.[8] There are few arguments at this stage in favour of calling the Hindu experts in *śāstra* jurists, and although a few schools of thought, prominently the *mīmāṃsakas*, advocated the supremacy of the Vedas in various terms, the discretion of the individual, the central element of self-control, was never abandoned.

This is why Hindu law, if we wish to distinguish it from Hindu religion, remained in large parts entirely customary, localised, and extremely diverse in its manifestation. The overriding dictate of *dharma* required this unending flexibility and ready adjustability to changing circumstances. The notion of 'appropriateness' could never be fully fitted into the straight jacket of rules that bind everybody equally. Quite logically, thus, neither legislation nor precedent became sources of traditional Hindu law. The overriding concept of *dharma* prevented any rigidity of rules, and later *śāstric* texts state quite clearly that if one stuck to a textual rule without considering the facts and circumstances of the particular situation, injustice might result.[9]

This ideal system is, of course, open to abuse and could not really function forever as a self-regulating mechanism. While in ancient China the *li* - *fa* controversy led to the so-called 'Confucianisation of the law', post-classical Hindu law, at roughly the same time probably, developed a very similar model of external control. Many *śāstric* texts, but

especially later *smṛtis* like those of Nārada and Bṛhaspati, start with very clear comments about the decline of moral standards, leading to the decay of *dharma*. A concept of progressive deterioration develops and the texts declare that we now live in the worst possible era, the *Kaliyuga*, in which individuals no longer follow their duties and have to be reminded of them by external pressure, symbolised (both in China and India) by the stick with which the ruler punished the erring subjects. The power of *daṇḍa* or punishment becomes now a major function of the Hindu ruler. He also becomes the final arbiter in any formal dispute (the concept of *vyavahāra*, 'litigation,' appears), and we see that here is a larger role for the *smṛti* texts, as formal court procedures become established.

But the supremacy of local tradition, of customary law, continues to be emphasized by the texts. The inner logic of *dharma* is never called into question, and despite his power to make rules for the administration of justice, the Hindu king does not gain the power to make laws for his subjects. Further, no *śāstric* text advocates the abolition of customary law, and the very real and primary authority of the individual Hindu's conscience seems never to be abrogated from within HIndu tradition except by the *mīmāṃsakas* and their followers. No jurists emerge that took control of society and sought to determine rules from the texts that applied to everyone alike, as God-given rules. The Hindu ruler, too, remains subject to *dharma*, not a master of it. This is so even where we have strong and established kingdoms; a closer look at the very impressive imperial legal system in China yields the same evidence: the people are required to maintain order locally, the official bureaucratic machinery is there to deter litigation and conflict and to prevent criminal activity, thus strengthening, in the final analysis, the intuitive processes of self- control on which both system rely so strongly.

The Moghul rulers of India apparently understood this control mechanism quite well, and found their own place in it without much difficulty, probably also because the notion of self-controlled order was never really alien to Muslims, either. Medieval Indian society thus achieved a subtle balance of Muslim political supremacy and local Hindu independence of thought and action. Hindu customary laws continued to rule the field, and the less orthodox Muslim rulers seem to have been happy enough to take full cognisance of them.

When the colonial powers began to govern parts of India, the need for judicial administration seemed apparent. By providing an elaborate court system based on English models and, gradually, laying the

foundations for a largely codified modern civil law system, the British made major conceptual mistakes; dividing legal topics into listed subjects, which were seen as religious and therefore to be governed by Muslim and Hindu laws, while the unlisted legal subjects were presumed to be of a secular nature, they overlooked the integrality of law and religion in the traditional Hindu (and Muslim) systems. By taking a narrow view of religion and religious law, they left, from 1772 onwards, only the so-called 'listed subjects' to the realm of religious law, a concept continued in modern India under the rather more secularised term 'personal law'. The British may have realised that their apparently neat distinction of law and religion did not work out in practice. But when this realisation fully struck them, it was too late to change a complex system that had meanwhile developed. Thus, modern India continues to labour under the historical burden of a partially 'secularised' legal system, which refuses to follow Western models of state law, and a reluctantly tolerated personal law system, within which religious notions are given greater scope.

Since this uneasy truce of state law and religious law has been giving rise to many tensions of a communal nature, I have begun to argue that a realistic admission of the pervasive influence of religious notions in the various Indian laws would be an asset in terms of nation-building. India has always thrived on diversity and respect for widely different opinions in the legal field. To attempt an artificial uniformity for political reasons will do more harm than good.[10] I see a very useful role for scholars of Sanskrit and Prakrit in this field, since we need to understand much more about how this traditional overlap of law and religion worked in the pre-modern periods of Indian history. Some simplistic attempts in this direction have been made.[11] I am not satisfied that we have done enough so far to investigate this field of tremendous national importance.

Jain Law

I have already said in the introduction that for practical purposes Jain law may be more or less irrelevant today, but Jain culture and religion are an internal part of India's complex cultural mix and need to be understood well, today. Thus books such as the one written by Professor J.C. Jain recently are important for understanding Indian culture and the interface of law and religion

There is, as far as I can see, no real dispute over the fact that Jain law exists but is today, in modern India, subsumed under Hindu law.

Two important questions then arise: (1) What was the nature of the traditional Jain law? (2) What is the scope for the application of Jain law today? While an essay on the second question would not doubt be of interest to many Jains, I propose to focus here on the first question only. The history and origins of Jain law, its contents, and its relationship with Hindu law all appear to be under-researched.

In this regard, the long-standing scholarly dispute over the relationship between Hindu law and Jain law is of central relevance. Champat Rai Jain, in his study of 1926,[12] has argued vigorously that Jain law is a legal system separate from the Hindu law, that the books on Jain law are quite independent from their Hindu counterparts,[13] and that misguided western scholars have generally failed to understand Jainism and Jain law.

Such defensive assertiveness is, however, only fruitful to a limited extent. Some of the criticism seems justified, i.e. it appears correct to assert that Jain law is a separate legal system. However, whether it is older than Hindu law or not, and how old it actually is, seem to me matters of chauvinistic and narrow interest, given the nature of ancient Indian scriptural evidence, which generally does not allow firm dates and definite statements. I would therefore venture to suggest that ascertaining the contents of the law is a more important task than finding an agreed position about the origins of the law itself.

Jain provides samples of Jain textual law like the *Bhadrabāhu Saṃhitā* and the *Vardhamāna Nīti*.[14] Though these are separate texts, they clearly originate from a pool of ancient Indian wisdom that is neither restrained by the artificial academic boundaries of 'law' and 'religion', nor restricted by the limits of sectarianism of different religions. The origins of such texts in a floating and largely oral pool of *smṛti* wisdom precludes exclusiveness and segregration. With reference to ancient Jain philosophy, this has recently again been emphasised by Prof. J.C. Jain.[15]

On the other hand, it is quite apparent that Jain law has developed certain principles peculiar to itself, distinguishing it from the dominant Hindu law of the Mitāksarā type. Thus, the increased property rights of Jain widows, the stronger position of the mother[16] and quite different rules on adoption[17] can be noted. In principle, though, I see only minor differences to the Hindu law, in particular since the textual evidence on Hindu law is so diverse in itself that some of the 'contrasts' with Jain law can easily be overstated.

The fact that Jain law received only haphazard recognition under the British-dominated Anglo-Indian legal system appears well-known.

The combination of traditional resistance against exposure of venerated texts to foreign hands and the cavalier fashion in which India laws were often handled by the foreign court officials created a picture of Jain law as an undeveloped branch of Hindu law, to be subsumed under that larger entity.[18] The conclusion, therefore, was that the Jains had no law books, thus taking away the scope for the application of scriptural authority, making the knowledge of Jain texts a matter of academic rather than practical interest.

At the same time, many cases in British India involved Jains.[19] And there is evidence of judicial awareness of the existence of special customs among the Jains.[20] These customs became an object of intense interest and controversy and it is no surprise, given the generally restrictive attitude of the Anglo-Indian procedural regime towards unwritten sources of law, that many such customs received only scant recognition, leading to a tendency among Jains to keep their disputes out of the official courts. Such a trend would, rather, strengthen the traditional *ahiṃsā*-approach that a Jain should take towards litigation, anyway.

I have been inspired in my study of Indian laws by how Prof. J.C. Jain viewed social reality in its relation to scriptural authority. As he reiterates in his latest book, the overriding importance of right action in every respect re-asserts itself in this field, too. Perhaps even more so than in Hindu law, then, the highly individualised ethical framework of Jainism is a major component of Jain law, making it less tangible than lawyers would wish, but sufficiently flexible for individual Jains to fulfil their sociolegal obligations. At the end of the day, whether we call this 'law' or 'religion does not seem to matter much, since both are subsumed under Jain notion of *dharma*, which continue, in my observation, to exert a powerful influence on most individual adherents of that religion.

NOTES

1. John, Griffiths: 'What is legal pluralism?'. In: *Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law*. 24 [1986] pp.1-56.
2. Jeanine, Miller: *The Vision of Cosmic Order in the Vedas*, London 1985, provides a critical evaluation on this issue.
3. See W.F. Menski, : *Role and Ritual in the Hindu Marriage*, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis 1984, esp. pp. 633-645.
4. On this see Robert, Lingat: *The Classical Law of India*, Berkeley et at..: University of California Press, 1973.

5. For details see S. Van der Sprenkel : *Legal Institutions in Manchu China*, London, 1977.
6. Lingat, as note 4 pp. 1-17.
7. *Ibid.*, p.6.
8. Elaboration on this point is obviously beyond the ambit of the present paper.
9. This was even held in a case decided by the Kerala High Court as late as 1968 : see *Kunhikannan* 1968 KLT 19.
10. See W.F. Menski : 'Uniform Civil Code in India : A false model for development ?.' In: *Kerala Law Times*, 190 (2) Journal Section, pp.3- 19.
11. S. Narang, (ed.) : *Dharmaśāstra in Contemporary Times*, Delhi: Nag Publishers, 1988 seems to me too superficial, while Rama Jois: *Seeds of Modern Public Law in Ancient Indian Jurisprudence*, Lucknow : Eastern Book Company, 1990 provides a more insightful approach.
12. Champat Rai, Jain: *The Jaina Law*, Madras : Devendra 1926.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 240.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 109-216.
15. J.C. Jain, *The Jain Way of Life*, Gurgaon 1991, pp. 46 ff.
16. See Jain, at note 13 pp. 12, 21ff. and elsewhere.
17. *Ibid.*, esp. pp. 19-37.
18. *Ibid.* p. 7.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 242ff.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 103-106.

Some Ancient Indian Versions of Oedipus

H.C. Bhayani

Principally in the areas of Prakrit literature, Jainism and ancient Indian culture Jagdishchandra Jain has been active for over five decades. Through his research works and teaching and lectures he has significantly enriched our knowledge of those subjects. His most outstanding work is of course, *The Vasudevahiṇḍī—An Authentic Jain Version of the Bṛhatkathā* (1977). The *Vasudevahiṇḍī* is well-known as the earliest available recast of the lost *Vaḍḍakahā* or *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇādhya—the great treasure-house of tales, legends and narratives datable about the early centuries of the Christian era, and thus the earliest known story collection of the world, unmatched for its merits of narrative power and artistic techniques. Jagadishchandraji's excellent translation and the critical and comparative study of the various versions of the *Bṛhatkathā* are indispensable for investigating the origins and development of the narrative literature of Classical India.

The following short study of a motif with regard to the early Indian narrative tradition is offered as a modest tribute to Jagdishchandraji's life-long scholarly interest and contribution.

(I)

In the Jain hagiographical tradition relating to the life of Jambūkumāra, the earliest full account is found in the *Vasudevahiṇḍī*. Therein when Jambū's father Ṛṣabhadatta tries to dissuade him from renouncing the world and appeals to him first to enjoy the worldly pleasures and later think of renunciation, Jambū counters his plea by an illustrative story (*Vasudevahiṇḍī*, p. 6) reproduced below from Jain's English translation[1] (cf. also B. Sandesara's Gujarati translation, p. 97):

The Story of a Monkey who was Attached to the Pleasure of Senses

In a forest there lived a monkey, the leader of the troupe, who moved freely. Once, when he was advanced in age, he was overpowered by another monkey. They started fighting and the leader was defeated. When the leader ran away, the other monkey pursued him, but after some time he gave up the pursuit. The leader monkey thought that he was still being followed. So being wounded and affected by thirst and hunger, he entered a mountain-cave where bitumen was oozing from a rock. He mistook the liquid for water and began to lick it. But the bitumen clung so strongly to his face that the could not get if off. In order to get his face free, he touched it with his hands and feet, but they too became fixed in the bitumen. In this way, unable to get out, the monkey perished miserably.

If the monkey whose face was fastened had tried to release it with the help of other parts of his body without their also getting stuck, he would have saved himself from the suffering of death.

Pointing out the moral of the story Jambū submits that if he continues to enjoy the worldly life he will get more and more attached to it and ultimately he would be subject to suffering many rounds of births and deaths.

(Jain's translation, pp. 559-560)

In the Prakrit *Jambucariya* of Guṇapāla (beginning of the ninth century A.D.), this same story occurs, but there it is narrated by Jambū as an example to counter the pleasing of his third wife Padmasenā (pp. 120-121).

(2)

In the version that we find in the *Jambūcarita* of Hemacandra's *Sthavirāvalicarita* (twelfth century A.D.), a new element has been added. I reproduce below from Jacobi's Introduction the relevant portion from the short summary of the eleventh story told by Jambū to rebutt the point of his wife Kaṇakasenā.

'In the Vindhya hills a very strong monkey drove away the other males and dallied with the females. Once another monkey, young and strong, came and courted the females, but the older one resenting the liberty he took, threw a stone at him. A bloody quarrel ensued, in which, however, the older monkey decidedly suffered most. He retired

covered with wounds and thoroughly exhausted.'

(Pariśiṣṭaparvan, *Contents*, pp. 48-49).

(3)

In the version that occurs in the *Jambūsāmicariu* of Vīra in Apabhraṃśa (1020 A.D.), we find a significant change. The monkeys are related as father and son and the motivation for enmity figures here as the father's fear of his male issues dislodging him from his position as the group-leader, i.e. it is patently the power struggle (*Sandhi* IX, *Kaḍavaka* 7, pp. 173-174. I reproduce the story below in Jain's Hindi translation:

Vindhya me ek yuthapati bandar rahata thā. Woh baḍā Kāmātur thā. Sadaiva ratibyasana kā sevan kartā thā, āur dusre bānarayutha kī āwāj bhī sahan na Karnebālā thā. Bānarī yo santān janatī thī, putrī ko chhoḍkar putra ko mār dālta thā. Paśchāt kisi samay ek bānarī sagarbhā hui. Us ban ko chhoḍkar usne anya banme' prasuti kī. Use Piṅgalanetra aur khub baḍī daṅṣṭrāpaṅktise-yukta mukhabālā putra huā. Usne jananī se puchchā—merā pitā kahān hai? (Mā ne kahā)-He putra woh putrarupi aṅkur kā unmulan karnebālā (pitā, jahā hai, wohin) rahe', arthāt us putraghātak pitā se tujhe kyā lenā denā hai? Tab āpne bhujayugal ko phatkār kar; kupita hokār woh bolā—Ma bātlāyo ki woh kahān hai? Use uske pāpkā phal bātlauṅgā. Maa use wohan le gayi. Paraspar kruddha hokar dono banar (ek dusre par) jhapte'. Nakhon āur dānton ke' prahār se' ghāyal śarīr ho kar buḍhā bandar raṇ chhoḍkar bhāg niklā. Dusrā bhī asahiṣṇu hokar uske' pichhe' ho yayā, wohan tak ki usse' ban chhuḍuwā diyā. Atyaṅta pyāyāse hue' usne āpne sāmne jalke samān kuchh (dravya padārtha) dekhā. Āur jab (ek) hāth dālkar us pāni (jaise padārtha) ko pīne lagā to us lep (chip-chipa padārtha—silajīt) me chipak kar byākul ho gayā. Phir bhī woh murkh-ne jalkī abhilāṣā karke dusrā hāth bhi usime dāl diyā, tathā ghutne' lagākar mukh bhi dāl diyā. Jis prakār jānte hue' bhi woh hatabuddhi murkh banar lep me' chipakkar marā, usi prakār biṣaya sukhon kā pyāyāsa hokar mai bhī kiṅchitmātra madhuko chātne me' āsakta hokar saṅkīrna kup me paḍkar bināś ko prāpta nahīn hoyuṅgā.

(Eng. trans. by J.C. Jain of this story
is given abov in Section (I) - Ed.)

(4)

In the versions we find in the *Jambūsamicaritas* of Brahmajinadāsa (1464 A.D.) and Rājamalla (1570 A.D.) as reported by V.P. Jain (*Jambūsamicariu*, Introduction, p. 51) the enmity between the father and son monkeys is sexually motivated. I reproduce below the brief outline given by Jain:

Brahmajinadāsa evaṃ Rājamahal kṛita caritra me yah ākhyān kuchh bhinnarūpa me is prakāra hai -

Vindhyaparvat me ek atisaya kāmātur bānar bānariyo ke sāth raman kartā huā rahatā thā. Dusre kisī bānar ko wohā ṭikne nehi detā thā. Ek bar ek bānari se ek balabān bandar utpanna huā āur tarun hokar usike sāth kāmakriḍā ke liye udyata huā. Yah dekhkar vṛiddha bānar atyanta kruddha huā āur dono me' yuddha honi lagā. Tarun bānar ne vriddha ko atyadhik ghāyal kar diyā āur use ban se bāhar bhagā diyā. Vriddha bānar wohi mar gayā. Tarun bānar ko loṭte samaya pyāyas lagī, yuddha ke ghāw āur thakān bhi hī. Usne' ek sthān par pānī dekhā. Wahi ghani kichaḍ thi, iskā use jñān nahī huā. Pāni pīne jākar us saghan kīchaḍ me phāns gayā. Aśakta honeke kāraṇ usme se nikal nahī sakā āur whoi mar gayā. (A brief English rendering of this story is as follows: In the sexually motivated quarrel the old father-monkey was killed by the young son-monkey, but the latter was also killed owing to his injudicious drinking of a liquid which he mistook for water).

(5)

In the Jain literature the tale-motif noted above is found in another narrative context also. In the biography of king Śreṇika as narrated in Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, there is the account of the wonder elephant Secanaka. In a forest, a leader of a horde of elephants, used to kill every male issue born to the cow-elephants, because he feared that they, when grown up, would court the females. One pregnant female managed to save her child, who when grown up killed his father. (*Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, 10, vv. 321-342). I reproduce below the relevant portion from Johnson's translation of the story (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, 140, vol. VI, 1962, pp. 158-160).[2]

'Now in a certain forest there was a lord of the herd in a large herd of elephants that was like a son of an elephant of the quarters in strength. "There must not be any lover in his prime of this herd of cows". With this idea he killed every young male as soon as it was

born.

One day the Brāhman's soul descended into the womb of a cow belonging to this herd and she, pregnant, thought,

"Many sons of mine have been destroyed by that wretch; but now I will save my son by some device."

With this determination, the cow-elephant pretended to have a foot pierced by a thorn and walked very, very slowly, fraudulently, home. Thinking, "She must not be enjoyed by any other lord of a herd," the lord of the herd guarded the cow, roaming very little. The cow-elephant, who had become extremely slow in gait, joined the elephant for a watch, or half-watch, or for a day or two. Thinking, "This poor creature, wounded as she is, does join me at last," the elephant became over-confident. Who is not deceived by the crafty?

One day when the lord of the herd was far away, the cow-elephant put a bunch of straw on her head and went to a hermitage. Falling at their feet, the bunch of straw on her head, she was recognized by the ascetics as a poor creature who was seeking protection. They told her "Be comforted, child" and she remained comfortably in their hermitage, like a maiden in her father's house.

One day after her son was born, she left her son in that hermitage, but she herself went back to the herd in the forest as before. For some time she came frequently and nursed the young elephant and he grew up gradually like a tree of the hermitage. The ascetics fed him with affection, as if he were their own child, with mouthfuls of cooked rice and olibanum. He sat on his haunches and with his trunk made a high crown of twisted hair on his head, playing by the side of the ascetics. The ascetics sprinkled their trees with watering-pots and he, observing them, filled his trunk with water repeatedly and sprinkled. One ascetic gave him the name Secanaka (Sprinkler), because he sprinkled the trees of the hermitage daily in this way. With curved tusks joined to the trunk, with eyes yellow as honey, with the tip of the trunk touching the ground, with high withers, with a high boss, a short neck, a gradually stooping back, with a tail not quite equal to his trunk, adorned with twenty nails, with low hindquarters and high front quarters, endowed with all the favourable marks in course of time he became a mature elephant.

One day when he went to the river to drink, he saw his father, lord of the herd who, engaging in a fight, was killed.

He then became lord of the herd and thought to himself:

"I have been protected in that hermitage by my mother by trickery. Some other elephant, born and protected in that hermitage, must not do to me what I, having been protected, did to my father." With this thought he destroyed the entire hermitage and made its site unmarked, like a river dry ground."

(6)

In the Jataka no. 58 (*Tayodhamma-jātaka*), we find a Pali version of the same tale. I reproduce it below.

(translation by E. B. Cowell, Vol. I, pp. 144-145)

Tayodhamma-Jātaka

Once upon a time when Brahmadatta was reigning in Benaras, Devadatta came to life again as a monkey, and dwelt near the Himalayas as the lord of a tribe of monkeys all of his own begetting. Filled with forebodings that his male offspring might grow up to oust him from his lordship, he used to geld (281) them all with his teeth. Now the Bodhisatta had been begotten by this same monkey; and his mother, in order to save her unborn progeny, stole away to a forest at the foot of the mountain, where in due season she gave birth to the Bodhisatta. And when he was full-grown and had come to years of understanding, he was gifted with marvellous strength.

"Where is my father?" said he one day to his mother. "He dwells at the foot of a certain mountain, my son", she replied, "and is king of a tribe of monkeys". "Take me to see him, mother". "Not so, my son; for your father is so afraid of being supplanted by his sons that he gelds them all with his teeth". "Never mind; take me there, mother", said the Bodhisatta. "I shall know what to do". So she took him with her to the old monkey. At sight of his son, the old monkey, feeling sure that the Bodhisatta would grow up to depose him, resolved by a feigned embrace to crush the life out of the Bodhisatta. "Ah! my boy!" he cried; "where have you been all this long time!" And, making a show of embracing the Bodhisatta, he hugged him like a vice. But the Bodhisatta, who was as strong as an elephant, returned the hug so mightily that his father's ribs were like to break.

Then thought the old monkey, "this son of mine, if he grows up, will certainly kill me." Casting about how to kill the Bodhisatta first, he bethought him of a certain lake hard by, where an ogre lived who might eat him. So he said to the Bodhisatta, "I am old now, my boy,

and should like to hand over the tribe to you; today you shall be made king. In a lake hard by grow two kinds of water-lily, three kinds of blue-lotus, and five kinds of white-lotus. Go and pick me some." "Yes, father", answered the Bodhisatta; and off he started. Approaching the lake with caution, he studied the footprints on its banks and marked how all of them led down to the water. But none ever came back. Realising that the lake was haunted by an ogre, he divined that his father, being unable himself to kill him, wished to get him killed (282) by the ogre. "But I'll get the lotuses," said he, "without going into the water at all." So he went to a dry spot, and taking a run leaped from the bank. In his jump, as he was clearing the water, he plucked two flowers which grew up above the surface of the water, and alighted with them on the opposite bank. On his way back, he plucked two more in like manner, as he jumped; and so made a heap on both sides of the lake, —but always keeping out of the ogre's watery domain. When he had picked as many as he thought he could carry across, and was gathering together those on one bank, the astonished ogre exclaimed, "I've lived a long time in this lake, but I never saw even a human being so wonderfully clever! Here is this monkey who has picked all the flowers he wants, and yet has kept safely out of range of my power." And, parting the water sunder, the ogre came up out of the lake to where the Bodhisatta stood, and addressed him thus, "O king of the monkeys, he that has three qualities shall have the mastery over his enemies: and you, methinks, have all three." And, so saying, he repeated this stanza in the Bodhisatta's praise:-

Who so, like you, O monkey-king, combines
Dexterity and valour and Resource,
Shall see his routed foemen turn and flee.

His praises ended, the ogre asked the Bodhisatta why he was gathering the flowers.

"My father is minded to make me king of his tribe," said the Bodhisatta," and that is why I am gathering them."

"But one so peerless as you ought not to carry flowers," exclaimed the ogre; "I will carry them for you." And so saying, he picked up the flowers and followed with them in the rear of the Bodhisatta.

Seeing this from afar, the Bodhisatta's father knew that his plot had failed. "I sent my son to fall a prey to the ogre, and here he is returning safe and sound, with the ogre humbly carrying his flowers for him! I am undone!" cried the old monkey, and his heart burst asunder

(283) into seven pieces, so that he died then and there. And all the other monkeys met together and chose the Bodhisatta to be their king.

(6)

The story of Nandiṣeṇa given by Somatilaka (alias Vidyātilaka) in his Sanskrit commentary *Śīlataraṃginī* (1337 A.D.) on Jayakīrti's *Śīlopadeśamālā*, is based on the *Triṣaṣṭi* version. Secanaka's account forms a part of story of Nandiṣeṇa. We have its Old Gujarati rendering in Merusundara's *Śīlopadeśamālā-bālāvabodha* (1468 A.D.) (pp. 28-39), and modern Gujarati translation by H.K. Shastri (1900 A.D.), pp. 67-91.

(7)

The story of Oedipus on which Sophocles's famous Greek tragedy, *Oedipus Rex* is based has been variously interpreted. Some mythologists had suggested that Oedipus was a symbol of light or the sun. According to Levi Strauss, the story reveals the inability of the Greek civilisation to harmonize the Greek belief that the human race was borne from the earth with the evident fact of the origin from the union of the male and the female. Somebody has also advanced a Marxian interpretation. But the psychoanalysts have widely used this tale in support of their doctrines. According to them those elemental urges to which man gave free reins in primitive times, but which he later tried to suppress (but could not eliminate), he satisfied indirectly through folk literature and folk art, and the Oedipus story offers its wonderful instance. To get possession of the mother and kill the father—these two urges are subsumed under the Oedipus complex. It is a basic doctrine of psychoanalysis and folklorists have found its symbolic, hidden expressing in numerous folk-tales of the world.

According to Freud, the Oedipus story expresses a real, historical phenomenon. In primitive archaic times, the old tribal head confined to himself the ownership of all the women-folk and kept his sons away from their mothers and sisters. Ultimately the sons killed and ate their father and enjoyed with their mothers and sisters. Thereafter feeling remorse for the patricide, they made their father's totem and ceremonially put up a monument for him.

This ancient sense of guilt persists through ages till the present day, and is present as a complex during the early stage of the life of every man. Consequently in his childhood he experiences incestuous feel-

ing for the mother and ambivalent relation with his father. If as he matures, he does not get rid of that complex, he develops neurosis.

According to Jung, the child's 'love' for the mother is the result of the protection and nourishment he gets from her. Later on it develops as the sexual instict. The jealousy felt in childhood is connected with the food. Only later it gets connected with sex. In every person's psyche the whole history of human experience lies buried. This 'collective unconscious' gets expressed in myths and archetypes. The motif of Oedipus which we find in the folktales is nothing but the adult's desire to enjoy again the same protection and freedom he enjoyed in his childhood. The patricidal instinct can be explained as the child's jealousy. Thus Jung considerably drains libido of sexuality.

According to Eric Fromm, the Oedipus story expresses the power-conflict between the father and the son, rather than sexual conflict and incestuous urge. The Sophocles triology is to be taken as a tripartite whole. Then the conflict between Lius and Oedipus, between Oedipus and his two sons and between Creon and his son became quite obvious. Basically it is not sexual rivalry. In fact the web of recondite, symbolic interpretations woven by the psychoanalysts around the Oedipus story is considerably doubtful. A. L. Kroeber and some other leading anthropologists have raised serious objections against the conclusions arrived at by Freud in his *Totem and Taboo*. Anthropologically those ideas have been considerably outdated. According to Levin there is sufficient evidence to consider the Oedipus story as implying the sense of indignation born in a deserted child rather than as indicative of incestuous instinct or of power-conflict between the father and the son. According to Alder, because of the fondling received by the son from his mother, he becomes incapable of freeing himself from the family and hence he turns to his mother and experiences pleasure in enjoying her. In this the instinct of power is stronger than that of sex.

Alexander and others do not think Oedipus complex to be universal. Instead they consider child's jealousness to be so. During the period of dependence on the parents the child nurses enmity towards anybody who he feels tries to snatch a share from the parents' love and care. Lessa comes to the conclusion that the Oedipus complex is neither universal nor of a uniform character, and the Oedipus type of stories are found in those societies only which commonly share a way of life.

According to the analysis of the forty-eight myths of the Oedipus type collected by Rank and Raglan from Europe and Asia, only in four of the myths the hero marries his mother. Only eight myths have clearly the motif of maternal incest. On the other hand in nine myths

the hero kills his grandfather, uncle, brother or some other kin. The motif of patricide or regicide is not found as a distinctive characteristic in these myths. Lessa too has arrived at similar conclusions through his examination of twenty-three Oedipus-type tales from Oceania. He did not find in them a single tale to which all the three tests, viz., the forecast, patricide and maternal incest were applicable, and only to one third of these tales are applicable the secondary tests, viz., giving shelter to the deserted, nursing and protection by another king and the forecast proving to be true. Lessa thinks that the Oedipus-type of tales have spread from the patriarchal societies of Europe and Asia to Oceania which has a different social structure.

According to Herskovitz, in examining the Oedipus-type of tales, we should take into consideration not only the filial jealousy, but the father's fear of being dislodged by his son. This means that the inimical instinct is not unidirectional. It is an expression of conflict between two successive generations. In childhood the conflict begins as rivalry of the issues for their mother's love and this continues through their later life. The father's attitude towards his children is only the projection of that rivalry between the latter. In the thirty tales from North America, Africa and other areas examined by Kluckhorn the motif of the father's fear of being killed or dislodged by his son is clearly present. Sometimes the father drives out the son instead of killing him. In one tale the father destroys the son by magic charm. In another tale the father gives orders to his wife to kill the child that is to be born if it happens to be a son. In Kluckhorn's opinion the most satisfactory way to interprete the Oedipus-type of tales is to look upon them as a principal version of widespread myths relating to the hero's biography.

It will be seen that the two stories noted above in their several versions from classical Indian literary sources, confirms the non-Freudian findings and interpretations of the modern folklorists regarding the Oedipus story and the Oedipus complex.

NOTES

1. B. Sandesara's Gujarati translation, p. 97.
2. For a Gujarati translation, see *Trisastisalakapurusacarita*, Parva 10 (reprint), Arihanta Praksasan, Ahmedabad, 1985, pp. 93-94.

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Glimpses of Folk Life in Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa Literatures

Sures Chandra Banerji

The days of the aristocrats, living in ivory towers, are *passé*. People are interested more about common men than about kings and feudal lords. Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa literatures are vast in extent, and varied in contents. The bulk of these literary works deals with religious, philosophical and ethical matters. But a considerable portion is devoted to secular matters. From this portion we can have glimpses of folklife. It is not possible, in the compass of an article like this, to deal exhaustively with the life of the common people reflected in these works. We shall have only a bird's eye view of this aspect of Indian life in ancient and medieval ages.

Economic Life

Agriculture appears to have been the principal means of livelihood. From the *Karakaṇḍacariu* (I.3), we learn that women used to be engaged in guarding paddy fields. In doing so, they took to music which was enchanting to the herds of deer. The *Gāthāsaptaśatī* of Hāla mentions varieties of paddy like Śāli (i.9. vi. 67-68, vii. 89) and Kalama (vii. 90-91). Among other kinds of agricultural produce, were sugarcane, *śaṇa* (hemp), *rājika* (oil-seed), *kārpāsa* (cotton), *tila* (sesamum), etc. These are referred to in the above work respectively in i.9, ii. 71, vi.49, i.8 (and vii. 93). The same work mentions the following occupations: making of gold ornaments (ii.91), carpentry (ii.53), garland-making (vi.96, 98), painting (vii.56), sculpture (vi.30) and astrology (v.35). The *Gauḍavaho* contains scattered references to the following artisans and craftsmen: potter, blacksmith, goldsmith, jeweller, tailor, mason, carpenter, florist, bricklayer, weaver, etc. It also mentions fishermen

(verse 521), a stonecutter's chisel (700), the *lodhā* (1173); the last one is a machine for separating seeds from cotton. The *Jasahara-cariu* (iii.12) refers to the buffaloes carrying loads for merchants. The *Gāthāsaptaśatī* (i.96, ii.54) testifies to the practice of depositing articles with others obviously as security against money borrowed from them. It refers (ii. 61) to the Prapāpālikā or a woman engaged to look after the places for distribution of water among travellers. Some women appear, in the *Karpūramañjarī* (iv. pp. 97-98), as chowrie-bearers, betel-box carriers, bath-keepers reciters of witty sayings, and ladies in waiting in the royal harem. Hunchbacks, dwarfs, pigmies and eunuchs appear to have been appointed in royal palaces, especially in the royal seraglio. (*Ibid.*, iii, p. 90). The *Nāyakumāracariu* refers to trade both by land (v. 10) and water (i.15.6).

That prostitution prevailed in the society is proved by some references. The *Karpūramañjarī* of Rājaśekhara refers to prostitutes (i., p. 22). Such women are mentioned also in the *Karakaṇḍacariu* (viii.6). From the same work (viii.13) we learn that there was the practice of gambling for winning harlots. Whores are mentioned also in the *Bhavisayatta-kahā* (xvi.9.9).

Slavery is referred to at several places, e.g. *Gāthāsaptasatī*, i. 91, *Karpūramañjarī* (i.p. 13, p. 20); the latter refers to female slaves.

Popular Beliefs and Practices

A study of the Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa literatures reveals some interesting beliefs and practices. In the *Karakaṇḍacariu* (i.8), we find that the dream of a delightful elephant was supposed to indicate the future birth of a good son. The *Karpūramañjarī* reflects belief in magic. There are references to a person being carried by magic power (i. p. 38), the blooming of flowers out of season (ii. p. 42), a magic car moving through the air or walls (iv. p. 109). The *Karakaṇḍacariu* refers to belief in miracles. For instance, there are references to a bamboo-clump growing from the eyes on a human skull (ii.7), a horse flying through the sky (viii.9), the conjurers controlling demons by spells (ii.12), certain charms believed to protect a person against his internal enemies like infatuation, passion, etc. (ii.10). The art of controlling others is mentioned in II.9.

The *Gāthāsaptaśatī* contains references to certain practices in connexion with marriage. For instance, when marriage was imminent, women used to sing songs with the mention of the bridegroom's name (VII.43). A ceremony, on the fourth day of marriage, marked the first

occasion of separation of the couple after marriage (vii.44). Some *gāthās* (e.g. vii.46-47) depict the pleasant picture of the first meeting of the husband and wife. The same work refers to some rules of conduct to be observed by a married woman. Talking with the husband in the presence of the superiors was prohibited (vii.16). Women were forbidden to cross the threshold of the house, to laugh showing their teeth, and to look at things raising the face (vi.25). It appears (vi.13) that they used to express their anger by smiling reproof, showing sorrow by excessive affection. It was the practice of the housewives to alleviate the suffering of relatives in distress (vii.6). There was the custom of the wife asking the husband, at the time of her pregnancy, for her favourite articles. The wife of a man, who was abroad, used to refrain from decoration of the body (i.33). Such a woman used to count the days of separation, with its termination in view, with various things kept in a vessel (ii.70). In such periods, the unfaithful wives sometimes indulged in clandestine sex enjoyment with persons like their husbands' brothers (e.g. i. 28, ii. 56), and even with men of lower classes (iv. 60). Some women in temporary separation used to send letters to their husbands (iii. 44, vi.61).

A woman, in monthly impurity, used to besmear her face with ghee mixed with turmeric powder (i. 22, iii.89; vi.19; 28), and appears (vi. 29) to have been debarred from sexual intercourse with her husband. Nevertheless, even during her menstruation, the husband would sometimes kiss and fondle her amorously (i. 22, vi. 29). At the end of the period of impurity, women used to apply turmeric (paste?) over their bodies before bath (i.8). In summer, women used to bathe also in the afternoon (v.73). The cloth of a woman, used in her first menstruation, was known as *ānanda-paṭa* (v. 57).

The *Gāthasaptaśatī* testifies to the vogue of Satidāha or burning of a widow on the funeral pyre of her husband. For instance, verse vii. 33 states that a woman, ready for immolation, was dressed as a widow, and then embraced the corpse of her husband. In the event of the death of a polygamous husband all of his wives had to be dressed like satīs.

It should not be supposed that, in ancient India, life was all honey and money. There were beggars galore. The *Gāthāsaptaśatī* refers (ii.62) to beggars whose begging bowls were called *karaṅka*. The vessel, from which people gave alms, was called *caṭuka*. As stated above, slavery was in vogue. The *Gāthāsaptaśatī* refers (vii.10) to the unfulfilled wishes of the poor. Verse iv. 29 describes destitutes as putting on scanty and tattered clothes. The good people, rendering help to the distressed, are referred to in verse iii. 85.

It was a popular belief (*Gāthāsaptaśatī* iii, 61) that, starting for a journey on an inauspicious day, resulted in mishap. Like the ignorant of even today, the people believed that, in a lunar eclipse, Rāhu devoured the moon (vi. 19).

The *Karakaṇḍacariu* (i. 17) refers to the practice of keeping the dead bodies of thieves and adulterers, pierced with spikes, in the cemetery. This was, perhaps, designed to impress upon the public the evil effect of these crimes. It is also stated that strips of rags were tied to posts at such a place; this practice, was, perhaps, supposed to drive away evil spirits.

The *Gāthāsaptaśatī* refers (vi. 35) to the custom of beating a drum when fire broke out in a village. The idea was, perhaps, to warn the people, and call them for help in extinguishing the fire, and rescuing the affected people. There is the mention (iii.29) of both men and women trying to put the fire by water from jars, verse ii. 63 refers to conflagration in urban areas. *En passant*, it may be noted that the *Arthaśāstra* provides for the punishment of those who refrain from rushing for rendering help on such an occasion.

From the above work (v. 48), we learn of the vogue of ordeal (*divya pramāṇa*) for ascertaining the truth in a law suit. In this connection, it may be added that, in ancient Indian law treatises (e.g. *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, ii. 22) there is provision for resorting to ordeals as a means of proof, in the absence of the human evidences of documents, possession and witness.

We find the practice of Kāpālika women besmearing their bodies with ashes from a funeral place (*Gāthāsaptaśatī* v. 8). The males of this sect appear to have put trident marks on their foreheads (*Jasahara-cariu* I. 19).

In the society, there was belief both in Daviva or destiny (e.g. *Gāthasaptaśatī* iii. 7, 45, 79; vii. 56) and Puruṣakāra or human effort (e.g. *Ibid.*, i. 42). It was widely believed that good and bad deeds resulted in good and bad effects respectively (e.g. *Ibid.*, i. 99, ii.74, iv. 84, vi. 75). There are references to lurking fear caused by sinful deeds (*Ibid.* ii. 83), and to the belief in the other world and rebirth (e.g. *Ibid.*, v. 41, vii.8). Faith in astrology was widespread (e.g. *Ibid.*, iii. 61, iv. 19, v. 35). In the *Bhavisayatta-kahā* (I. 15) we find people's faith in the astrologer's forecast. An astrologer was *kokkaviu sunimittu viyakkhaṇa* (expert about omens).

The *Gāthāsaptaśatī* refers to certain practices supposed to be conducive to welfare. Some of those are as follows:

> Auspicious decorative designs put by cultivators' wives on the day of commencing the cultivation of cornfields (ii.65); placing a pitcher, filled with water, at the gate of a house on the occasion of an auspicious rite (ii. 40); *Candana-mālikā* or garland smeared with sandalpaste and placed at the gate (iii. 62), putting a water-pitcher, with mango-leaves on it, at the gate before leaving the house for a journey (ii. 43), offering cooked rice to Goddess Kātyāyanī in the month of Caitra (ii.7).

The *Bhavisayatta-kahā* (II.9.3) refers to the custom of putting curd, grass and fried rice on the head of a person who was given farewell before commencing a journey (III.17). The same work refers (VI.6) to the curious custom of causing a crow to fly away after a dear one has left for a journey. The idea was, perhaps, that the crow would give him companionship, and bring him back safely.

Among the animate beings offered to the goddess, mention is made of buffalo (iii.8). Buffalo meat appears (iii.10) to have been used by some as food. Deer, pig and goat are some of the animals whose meat was edible. The hind legs of a goat appear to have been regarded as a delicacy.

As a means of averting evil, the *Jasahara-cariu* refers (II.2) to the practice of keeping a dark spot in the threshing ground or the cornfield.

Auspicious bodily signs are referred to in the above work (I.17).

Evil dream has been a cause of worry in Indian society ever since the Vedic times. For example, the Ṛgvedic seer appears to have dreaded bad dreams, and tried to avert them or their effects (*Ṛgveda* VIII.47.15). He was so much scared by this scourge that the seer went so far as to invoke a deity designated as *duṛsvapna-nāsana*. The *Atharvaveda* (XVI.2.1.8) also betrays fear of bad dreams. The *Jasahara-cariu* testifies (II.14) to the belief that the evil effect of a dream could be averted by offering living beings to the goddess. The *Bhavisayatta-Kahā* (I.14) testifies to belief in dreams.

Leprosy appears to have been a common and dreaded malady.

Invitation to the *śrāddha* ceremony was denied to a leper (*Ibid.* III.9).

The *Gauḍavaho* refers (1071) to black magic (*abhicāra*) designed to cause mischief to others. The reference (319) to Kaula women indicates the prevalence of Tantra in the society. Kaulas represented a sect of Tantric devotees. They are described as witnessing the sacrifice of *mahāpaśu* (human being) in honour of goddess Vindhyavāsini. The Kaulas are described, in the *Nīlatantra* (xi.19), as follows:

Antaḥ śāktā bahiḥ kaulā sabhāyāṃ vaiṣṇava matāḥ/
nānārūpadharāḥ kaulā vicaranti mahītale//

The Kaulas, assuming various guises, roam about on the earth; inwardly Śāktas, they are outwardly Kaulas, and are regarded as Vaiṣṇavas in an assembly.

The *Ṇāyakumāra-cariu* reveals that the people used to believe firmly in the prophecies made by ascetics. Having learnt that his sons were destined to serve somebody, the king of Mathura is stated to have abdicated the throne (IV.5-6). The deity Sudarśanā and a Rākṣasa, having believed a prophecy, are stated to have kept the valuables for a long time in the forest for Ṇāyakumāra (vi. 1-8). as desired by a sage, Vanarāja received Ṇāyakumāra, and gave his daughter in marriage to him (VI.8). The same reason prompted princes, Acheya and Abhaya, to join service under him (vi. 16-17).

The *Bhavisayatta-kahā* (II. 9.3) refers to the custom of a man making announcements with a drum in a town. A popular practice was to tie the knots of garments in recognition of things or events. I.6 mentions festivities on the occasion of childbirth. On the expiry of a month from the date of birth, a male child would be taken to a Jain temple for *nāmakaraṇa* (christening). There was the custom of whispering the name of the Jina into the ears of the child, IV. 4.11 betrays belief in spirits, goblins, imps and demons, etc.

Food and Drink, Dress and Decoration

The literatures, with which we are concerned here, throw some light on the food, drink and dress and decoration of the people. From *Gāthāsaptaśatī* (iv. 16), we learn that food could be made delicious not only by salt, but also with oily substances. The term *praheṇaka* (iv. 28) means sweets distributed on festive occasions. The *Karakaṇḍacariu* (ix. 4) mentions sour gruel (*sauvīra*) among articles of food.

From the *Karpūramañjarī*, people appear to have been in the habit of drinking buffalo milk (i. 19). Grape juice and sugar served as drink and food (ii. 26). People used to eat gourd-melons (iii. 243, iv. 21) as well as jackfruits (iv. 22). In summer, betel leaves were overlaid with a palish shimmer, and areca-nuts were flavoured with mango-oil (iv. 5).

Some information is also available about the dress and decoration of the people. From the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* (i. 9), it appears that female actresses or dancers (*naṭī*) used to decorate their faces with *haritāla*

(yellow orpiment). Generally, women appear to have put on a sort of blue bodice (*kañcuka*) over their breasts (iv. 95, vii. 20). They used a veil to cover their faces (vii. 20, 72, iv. 95). There are references to the use, by women, of *nīlapaṭṭa* (blue cloth), *paṭṭāṃśuka* (coloured cloth) and *navaraṅgaka* (iii. 41, v. 61) or cloth dyed with safflower or saffron. Clad in such clothes, they used to distribute *praheṇaka* (iv.28), referred to above.

Women, with their husbands alive, used to wear *valayas* or bangles (*Gāthāsaptaśatī*, iii. 83, v. 53, 93, vi. 39), *kaṅkaṇas* or bracelets (i. 69). There are references to the use of jewellery also. Mention is made of *padmarāga* or ruby (i. 75), *marakata* or emerald (i. 4, 75; iv. 94), *indranīla* or sapphire (vi. 2), *gajamuktā* (ii. 73) and *muktā* or pearl (iv. 94). *Gajamuktā* means pearl supposed to be found in the *kumbha* or projection on the forehead of an elephant. It has been proved to be fanciful. A special kind of pearl might be denoted by the term *gajamukta*. There are references to *Kaṇṭhikas* (i. 75) as also *indranīla* (iv. 2). Necklace is referred to in vii. 69 also. The following ear-ornaments are mentioned in the *Gāthāsaptaśatī*.

> golden ear-ring (iv. 98), *kuvalaya* or an ornament like blue water-lily (iv. 23), *utpala* or an ornament like lotus (ii. 76), *jambudala* or an ornament like the leaf of a rose apple tree (ii.80), *tālavṛnta* or an ornament shaped like a fan of palm-leaf (iv. 98).

The following information can be gathered from the *Karpūramañjarī*. From 1. 13, we learn that women in winter used to put much wax on their lips, anoint their braids with fragrant oil, put on bodices, and apply thick saffron on their faces. From the following verse it appears that, in spring, they used sandal-paste (on their bodies or faces). The use of saffron-paste on the cheeks of girls, especially of Maratha girls, seems to have been common (i. 16). The use of pearl-strings and the collyrium-pencil by women is recorded on page 17. It appears that golden girdles with rows of copper-bells and fine silk fabric with trimmings of coarse silk were used (p. 17). Of their ornaments, we hear of the jewelled bracelets (ii. 9), emerald anklets (ii. 13), girdles with rubies set (ii. 15), necklaces of monster-pearls (ii. 17), earrings studded with gems (ii. 18). The use of diamonds was known (ii. 25). Women appear to have worn diamonds also (iii. 13). Besides pearl-necklaces, there was the use of strings of emerald and gems, (iii. 18). Decoration with flowers and fruits appears to have been in vogue. In iv.

7, there is mention of acacia in the chaplet, *sinduvāra* berries used as a necklace, blue lotuses used as a girdle and lotus-roots used as bracelets. Savage mountaineers appear to have dressed themselves with tail-feathers of peacocks. Women used mineral rouge to beautify their faces (iii. 18). It appears that some women used to paint their faces with chalk-water and to apply black collyrium on their cheeks (iii. 33).

According to the above work, the sign of the beauty of a woman was thin waist and plump hips (i. 30). It appears that dolls were kept by people in their houses (ii. 20) for decoration.

The *K.K.C.* (VII.13) mentions the following ornaments: earring, anklet, bell, girdle. It refers (III.2) to women's decoration with collyrium and lac-dye.

The *G.V.* throws some light on dress and decoration. There is reference (1047) to *alattā* (lac-dye) with which women used to dye parts of their body, particularly soles and lips. From the mention (24) of *āvarilla* (upper garment) the use of a lower garment can be inferred. *Kuppāsa* (757) appears to have been a sort of bodice for women. *Navaraṅga* (598) was, perhaps, a garment dyed in red or saffron. *Niriṅgi* (1136) was a veil worn over the head. Ragga (403), explained as *kausumbha-vastra*, means a cloth dyed with safflower.

Tāḍaṅka (206) denotes earring. *Tulāoḍi* (293) means anklets used by women. By *pralamba* (833), the poet appears to denote a garland worn round the neck, reaching the breasts.

Paṭavāsa (836) means perfumed powder. The word *pariśuddhi* (1123) shows that people, in those times, were used to toilet or make-up. The word *vicchitti* (341) clearly reveals that people used to colour their bodies with paints and unguents.

Crime and Punishment and Vices

It should not be supposed that ancient Indian society was free from crimes and frailties. Human nature of all times and climes betrays some weaknesses and vices. Ancient India was no exception. We give below a brief account of the crimes and vices as revealed in the literatures concerned.

The *Gāthāsaptaśatī* mentions (iv. 60) that even a woman of a high caste became involved in illicit sexual relation with a vile person; iii.37 refers to *jāravaidya*, i.e. a physician committing adultery with a female patient. Abduction of women, particularly in forest regions, is referred to (ii.18). A man, causing the death of his wife, appears to have been subjected to great blame (ii.78). Theft and robbery are referred to in

i. 54; vi.27; vii. 85. Sedition was punishable (iv. 96).

From several references it is clear that even women took to drinking. The *Gāthāsaptaśatī* (vi.44) refers to young girls drinking wine in spring festivals. Sometimes, lovers used to appease the wrath of their beloved by making them drink wine (iii. 70). Old wine appears to have been especially liked by people (ii. 97); iii. 27 mentions *pānakuṭī* or bar providing wine. Drinking is referred to at various places of also the *Karpūramañjarī* (e.g. i, p. 19; iii. 14, iv. 6), and the *Karakaṇḍacariu* (ix. 21). The *Karpūramañjarī* refers to the vice of gambling 9i, p. 20); it appears that evil women used to frequent gambling houses.

Theft and adultery are referred to in the *Karakaṇḍacariu* (i. 17, i.5). The *Bhavisayatha-kahā* (III.21) testifies to the existence, in the society, of a large number of mischievous people like tale-bearers, thieves, etc.

Popular Cults, Creeds and Worship

The *Gathāsaptaśatī* (ii. 85) mentions a *vrata* called *śyāmasabala*. In it, the devotee has to enter, at first, into fire and then into water. This poetical work sheds light on the Kṛṣṇa cult which was obviously popular in the south where the work originated. The verse i. 89, not only mentions Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, but also refers to his sport with the latter and other women. In verse ii. 14, we find Kṛṣṇa dancing with Gopīs, and a clever Gopī kissing the reflection of Kṛṣṇa on the foreheads of other Gopīs. The verse ii. 12 describes how Yasodā always looks upon Dāmodara as a boy, and how the women of Vraja secretly laugh after looking at the face of Kṛṣṇa. Verse v. 47, vii. 55 are an expression of Gopīs' love for Kṛṣṇa. Stanza ii. 17 poetically describes the physical charm of Kṛṣṇa. The river Yamunā, the sporting place of Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs, is mentioned in vii. 69. There are references to temples dedicated to different deities like Sūrya (iv. 32, vii. 53), Madana (iv. 25-27), Agni, Varuṇa (vi. 11) etc. The *G.S.* refers to Buddhism (iv. 8) and Kāpālikas (v. 81).

Śiva and Pārvatī appear to have been favourite deities of the poet of the *G.S.* the initial and final verses of which refer to them. They seem to have been popular deities too. In v. 55, the poet describes the sexual intercourse of the deities. It is stated that, when the cloth of Pārvatī was removed by Rudra, she, out of shame, covered his two eyes with her hands, and began to kiss his third eye.

From the *G.S.* (ii. 90), it appears that there were temples in villages. From ii.73, it seems that many deities used to be worshipped. In iv. 32, the poet refers to the practice of *jekkāra* which perhaps means

jayakāra[1] (loud utterance of glory) at the time of worshipping a deity. That sacrifices in fire were common in social life seems to be indicated by verse iii. 27.

It seems that Buddhism was on the wane when the *G.S.* was composed. In only one verse (iv. 8), there is reference to the worship of the Buddha by the Buddhist Saṃgha. According to an old commentator, the verse reflects contempt for the Buddhists.

The *G.S.* mentions (ii. 72) *āryāgṛha* which has been explained as the temple of Caṇḍī who was, perhaps, a popular deity. There is a reference (ii. 94) to *nagara-gṛha-devatā*; this probably means the presiding deity of a town.

The popularity of the Viṣṇu cult is indicated by references to Viṣṇu, especially to his Dwarf Incarnation and his exploits (e.g. ii. 51, v. i. 6, 25).

The *Karpūramañjarī* appears to refer to the prevalence of the worship of Kālī (iv. 19), Gaurī (iv, p. 103) and Cāmuṇḍā (iv, pp. 105-107). From the *Jasaharacariu* (I. 16, II. 7), the worship of a goddess, variously named as Caṇḍamārī, Kātyāyanī, etc., appears to have been very popular. Gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa have been referred to (iii. 34). The Fish Incarnation of Viṣṇu is referred to in the *Karakaṇḍacariu* (VII. 9). The work testifies (VII.7) to the popularity of the Kṛṣṇa cult.

The *Jasaharacariu* refers to Kāpālikas (I. 19). A sect of (Jaina?) ascetics, called Kṣullakas, are stated to wear only one white garment and a loin-cloth, carry a gourd, the begging bowl and to fully shave their heads (IV. 15).

Sports, Pastimes and Amusements

People want escape from the humdrum chores of daily life. Youngsters require channels for their exuberant energy and enthusiasm. Human nature has been basically similar in all ages and all countries. We shall briefly indicate the sports and pastimes as well as amusements mentioned in Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa literatures.

That musical instruments were used in the society is indicated by the *Gāthāsaptaśatī*. Verse iii. 53 hints at the practice of coating end-surfaces of such percussion instruments as *muraja* (tabor) so that they may produce pleasant sound. The sound of a lute, played by a boy, is referred to in vi. 60. Notes of flutes are mentioned in vi. 57, and the playing drums in vi. 26. Girls are stated to have played flutes (iv. 18). Songs were sung in marriage festivals (vi. 42, vii, 43). Song is

mentioned also in iii. 14. From vi. 35 we learn that loud songs and the sound of musical instruments were heard in spring festivals.

The *Nāyakumāracariu* mentions the following musical instruments (v. 7, 11; VIII. 77):

> Ālāpinī (a kind of *svaravīṇā*, lute), Mṛdaṅga (a kind of drum),
> Tantrī (a stringed instrument, lute), Mardala (a kind of drum),
> Paṭaha (kettle-drum), Dundubhi (a sort of large kettle-drum),
> Ḍhakkā (a kind of drum, in Bengali called Dhāk), Bukka (?)
> Bherī (a sort of kettle-drum), Śaṃkha (conch), Jhallari (cymbal),
> Ghaṇṭā (bell), Turya (war-drum?)

The *Karankaṇḍacariu* (II.9) mentions drums, tabors, lutes, and flutes.

The *Nāyakumāracariu* mentions dance (v. 11, 12; I, 18, II, 6, 9). As types of dance are mentioned *lāsya* (a kind of graceful dance, accompanied with vocal and instrumental music, in which the emotions are represented by gesticulations and attitudes) and *tāṇḍava* (frantic and voilent dance, usually associated with Śiva as Naṭarāja). Dance is mentioned also in the *Bhavisyatta-kahā* (I. 9).

The *Karpūramañjarī* mentions dance (i. p. 10). It appears that there were professional dancing girls. The prevalence of Challi dance is known from iv. 12. In such a dance, two rows of girls appear to have faced each other. It may have been the same as *cāli* mentioned in the *Saṃgītarantākara* (vii. 1215) among the modes of rural dances. According to this work, it was neither too fast nor too slow, and was characterised by the simultaneous movements of the feet, thighs, waist and arms. Performed swiftly, and with the dancers facing one another, it was called *calivāḍa*. From iv. 16, it appears that dance used to be performed to the accompaniment of drums and tambours. In iv. 17 it is stated that, in such a dance, accompanied by vocal music, the participants used to wear anklets.

The above work refers to Swing Festival which appears to have been popular (ii, p. 53).

Drama is mentioned in the *Karakaṇḍacariu*, ii. 9.

The sports, pastimes, festivals and amusements, mentioned in the various works, are as follows. The *Gāthāsaptaśatī* observes (i. 68) that people become very enthusiastic at the prospect of a festival. In verse i. 39, it is stated that, on such occasions, women specially decorated their bodies. It is learnt from vi. 35 that, in Spring festivals, people used to

cast conventional morality to the four winds. In such Cupid-festivals, the young damsels of the village used to wear *kañcukas* dyed with saffron (vi. 45). *Kañcuka* was, perhaps, a kind of bodice for covering the breasts; it seems that they did not put on any other upper garment. On such occasions, the mouths of ever young women smelt of wine (vi. 44). In the Phalgūtsava, popularly called Dolayātrā or Holi, even males were allowed to throw mud on females (iv. 69). People rushed to the place of festivals. At the completion of *vratas* and other festivals, housewives used to distribute *praheṇakas* or sweets (vii. 3).

Gāthā ii. 91 refers to the practice of carrying, on shoulders, a person, even if he is devoid of education or literacy, as an expression of delight at his glorious achievement.

Painting with various colours appears to have been a pastime (*Gāthās* iii. 17, v. 85, vii. 12).

A mode of women's amusement was that coquetish girls paraded, as savage mountaineers, with bows in hands and dressing themselves, with the tail-feathers of peacocks (iv. 14). In another form of amusement, girls, carrying offerings of flesh in their hands and terribly groaning, shreaking, crying and wearing masks of night-ranging ogresses, used to enact a cemetery scene (iv.15).

The *Jasahara-cariu* (III.15) mentions cock-fight as enjoyable.

Dice was a popular indoor game and a means of gambling. The *Nāyakumāracariu* refers (III.12) to a regular gambling house, called Tiṇṭā. The following articles are mentioned in connexion with this game : board, cowries, pawns, etc. (III.12, 5; III.13.10).

The *Karakaṇḍacariu* (II. 9) refers to wrestling, acrobatic feats, jumping, limbering up by rolling and turning the body. From III.6, riding on swings appears to have been a popular amusement.

The *Bhavisayatta-kahā* describes (I.9) festivals, decorations and a marriage ceremony. Among other things, there were the sprinkling of sandal-water, strewing the path with pieces of lotuses, burning of pieces of old sandalwood, showing respect to citizens, huge quantities of food and drink enjoyed by people. There is reference to the practice of young people, especially girls, cutting jokes with the bridegroom. Dancing is mentioned. The bridegroom is stated as taken in procession to his house after the performance of auspicious things.

II. 2 refers to the following subjects to be learnt by young men: wrestling, archery, habits etc. of animals like horses, elephants etc.

Manners, Morals and Ethical Ideas

As we have stated in connexion with crimes, we should not think that there was nothing immoral and unethical in the 'good old days' of the Indian society. We shall see that, however much the wise people tried to inculcate the principles of righteousness into their followmen, there were many moral lapses in the society. It should be noted that the gap between precepts and practice was great.

The *Gāthasaptaśatī* contains some information about the relation between the husband and the wife. They had to live separately for some days from the fourth day of marriage (vii.44-47). The wife of a person, conscious of high birth but living in a distressed condition, is stated to have been annoyed at the arrival of a relative for helping him; this was considered dishonourable to the husband (i. 38). Polygamy prevailed not only among the upper classes (i. 79 ii. 6, vi. 28 etc.), but also among common men (ii.73). Sometimes village headmen appear to have had many wives (v. 49). The youth of a junior co-wife was the object of jealousy of the senior one (iv. 82). There was, as usual, rivalry between co-wives. The first wife of a person appears to have carved out a permanent niche in his heart (ii.22). It appears that young wives used to disclose their love-secrets to their female relatives like aunts, paternal or maternal, and to the wife of the maternal uncle (i.93, 97; ii. 24, iii. 4, 46, 64, 94, vii. 48 etc.).

Vi. 12 indicates that a married woman was required to look after the welfare of all the inmates of the house. It is interesting to note that, though the Prakrit literature is of the Jainas, who were anti-Brahmin, yet they accepted the salutary rules of conduct laid down in the sacred Brahmanical works. For example, *gāthā* i.35 refers to the ideal characters of Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa. From this work, we learn that the lives of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, etc. were written or painted on the walls of the house. *Gāthā* iv. 11 contains a derogatory reference to the demons of Laṅkā, who were bloodsuckers. V.43 refers to Bhīma's kicking Duryodhana; obviously the wicked nature of the latter was condemned.

Illicit or clandestine sex-relation appears to have been widespread in the society reflected in the *Gāthāsaptaśatī*. Premarital lovemaking is referred to in iii. 98. I. 30-31 refers to the illicit sexual enjoyment on the part of the village headman who, perhaps, abused his influence. The same weakness of his wife is noticed in v. 69. Even a cultivator appears to have had clandestine relation with her (vii. 3). The daughter of the headman also indulged in such immoral practices (vi. 70). The daughter of some agriculturists, too, were involved in illicit sex-relations (i.84).

Even a virgin girl is found to have had a paramour (v. 57). Sometimes, one maiden girl had more lovers than one (v.57 ff.). There are references to a man attached to an unchaste woman (iv. 50) and to such a woman visiting a place of assignation (iv. 65). II. 4, 65-66; iii. 28, 94-95 testifies to the fact that women of the demimonde type abounded in the society. Such women appear to have corrupted the neighbours who used to shun their company (i. 36). Unchaste women could know of the arrival of their husbands and paramours from the bark of dogs (vii. 62). V. 17 refers to the attachment of an unchaste housewife to a barber. There is, however, reference to the genuine devotion of an unchaste woman. From iv. 8, we learn that such a woman used to besmear her body with the ashes of her paramour, collected from his cremation ground.

Unchaste women resorted to various tactics to conceal from their husbands their relations with paramours (iv.1). On the pretext of scorpion-bite, an unchaste woman, in the very presence of her husband, is stated as being taken to her physician paramour (iii.37). In one place, an unchaste woman is described as introducing a paramour to her husband as a man seeking shelter (iii.97). V. 41 refers to the various modes of sex enjoyment of women. VII.14 refers to the kinds of women involved in love affairs.

We have seen under economic life that prostitution was widespread in the society. From the *Theragathā* commentary, we learn of famous public women like Vimalā, Ambapalī, Sirimā.

The *G.S.* refers (v.74) to the spoiling of the character of young men and the erosion of their wealth by prostitutes. The love of prostitutes is mentioned in ii. 56.

The *NKC* refers (vii.4.5) to the practice of a man marrying the daughter of his maternal uncle. the father-in-law was addressed as maternal uncle (*māmā* IV.11.8).

From the *NKC* (I.17, I, V, 2. 13-14) it appears that the bride used to be taken to the bridegroom's house where the marriage took place.

Miscellaneous Elements of Folk Life

Some works throw light on various aspects of folk-life, besides those dealt with in the foregoing pages. We shall note some among them.

The *Gāthāsaptaśatī* contains a lot of information on folklife. I.50 and i. 51 mention ordinary fever and fever resulting from dysentery or indigestion. In v. 58, there is reference to the practice of putting a sort of plaster (*dhvala-paṭṭa*) on scars and wounds. IV.17 refers to bitter

medicines and iv. 36 to *sañjīvanauṣadhi*, i.e. a drug for curing a patient about to die. From v. 27, we learn that those soldiers, who were dignified matches for their adversaries, and bore scars on the body, were regarded as successful.

The above work gives a pen picture of the idyllic charm of the village, and of the rural life. Cultivation and cultivators are mentioned at several places; e.g. ii. 34, vi. 67, vii. 89. We come across merry cultivators gleefully singing after reaping a rich harvest (vii. 89). The cultivators are described as having their meals brought to the field by women at noon (vii.92). There is a fence around a cultivator's house (iii.20,21,57); there are holes in the fence for seeing distant objects (v. 40). The houses are mostly made of grass (iv. 15), and have *alinda* (terrace before the housedoor, place like a square at the door, v. 40). There is reference to a big banyan tree near or in the middle of the village (i. 94, iii.94-95). References are available to tanks (ii. 10, vii. 26) in villages. Lotus-tanks are the beauty spots of villages (i.8). The following kinds of flowers bloom on moist places : Kāśa (v. 34), Kunda (v. 26), Kuvalaya (i.8), Kamala (i. 78, ii. 10, v.95, vii. 41), Kuravaka (i. 6), Kadamba (ii. 77, iv. 15, vi. 65, vii. 36). Among other flowers are mentioned Mālatī (i. 92), Bakula (i. 63), Saptalā (vii. 19) or Navamālikā (iii. 81), Palāśa (iv. 8, 11), Tāmarasa (iv. 43), Kusumbha (ii. 45), Madhuka (ii. 4. vii. 39), Śephālikā (v. 12), Pāṭalā (v. 68, 69, vii. 19), Puṇḍarīka (vii. 24), Marubaka or Piṇḍitaka (vii. 77).

Among the trees are mentioned the following : Aśoka (i. 7, iii. 79) or Kaṅkelli (v. 3-5), Rakta-pāṭala (i. 14), Aṅkoṭa (iv.13, v. 97), Āmra (iv. 31, 96; v. 99), Eraṇḍa (iii. 57), Phalahī or Kārpāsa (iv. 59-60). The Mādhavī creeper is also mentioned (iv.22).

The fruits are : Nimba (i. 30, iii. 48), Āmra (i. 62, vii.66), Badara (ii. 100), Tāla (iv. 98), Jambu (ii. 40).

The pulse, Tuvari or Aḍahara is mentioned (iv. 58). Among other agricultural products are rice, especially Śāli, oilseeds and hemp (i. 8-9, ii. 34-7; vi. 49, 67-68, vii. 89-92 etc.).

Villagers sometimes used to have birds as pets (iii.20). They used to feel ashamed when a caged parrot divulged details about their sex-sports before the superiors (vi. 52, 89). Among domestic birds, besides parrot, are mentioned peacock (i. 52, ii. 73, iv. 94, vii. 36), pigeon (i. 64), swan (ii.10), cock (vii. 98). Mention is also made of the crow (iii.5) and crane (i.4).

Different types of deer (i. 25, iii. 87, vii. 29), cows and buffaloes (i.65, iii. 38, 71, 75), elephants (ii. 73, ii. 58, vii. 30), monkeys are also mentioned.

The village headman, called Grāmaṇi was in charge of rural administration (vii. 25, 32). Large administrative units were under Gaṇādhipati or Maṇḍalādhipati (v.3). Matters relating to law and order were looked after by certain persons meant for this purpose (v. 3; vi. 56).

Wealthy people used to bury treasures underground (ii. 24, iv. 18 etc).

Utensils of wood were in use (ii.53).

The insects, mentioned in the *G.S.*, are the spider (i. 63) and bee (i. 37, 92; ii. 28, 39).

The following beasts are mentioned : deer of various kinds (iii. 87, vii. 29, i. 25), cow (iii. 71), bull (iii. 38, 75), elephant (ii.73, iii. 58, vii. 10), buffalo (ii. 72, vii. 80), monkey (ii. 71), cat (iii. 83), dog (vii. 62, 88), lion (ii. 75).

Rathyā (road) has been frequently mentioned (e.g. ii. 19, 40, 90; v. 19, vii. 82). Wide and narrow roads were there (iii. 41, vii. 92). We read about village roads being water-logged and filled with slush (iv. 92). The crossing of four roads is mentioned in i. 36, ii. 90.

Gāthā vi. 54 refers to a machine producing molasses: it appears to refer to the practices of making molasses with sugarcane juice extracted with the help of machines—a common sight in villages even to-day.

A householder, having to maintain distressed relatives, has to wear poor clothes (i.18).

Exchange of jesting remarks between the husband and the wife is referred to in i. 11. 13.

Gāthās iii. 44. vi. 71 refer to letter writing. Letters are sent by wives to their husbands gone abroad for trade. Sometimes wives try to prevent their husbands from proceeding on a journey. Sometimes they appear to be on the lookout for means of relieving their distress due to impending separation (i. 47). There are observations in the *G.S.* i.17. 49, 77, 94, 98, etc. containing various sentiments, relating to the householder gone abroad and wives in separation. In some cases, the wives, unable to bear too long a separation, are found to be attracted to other men (i.66).

In village life, we find reference to *eka-grāma pravāsa* (i. 43). It means that the lover and the beloved, though living in the same village, cannot be united, and therefore suffer.

There is reference to a wife being emaciated in summer at the prospect of the husband going abroad (vii. 11). In the rainy season, the wife in separation is drenched in tears (vii. 21). The absent husband, in this season, remembers his beloved, and wants to hasten back home

(vii. 94,98). He feels distressed at the sight of a tank in autumn (vii. 22). He feels pained at the touch of southern breeze in spring (v. 46).

The wife of an absent husband sometimes becomes attracted towards another women's husband remaining abroad (vii. 67).

There is reference (e.g. vii. 28) to the grāmani or the village headman in charge of the affairs of the entire village. The post appears to have been hereditary (vii. 32).

The *Gāthasaptaśatī* contains some proverbs presumably current in rural life. Some of them are noted below.

Andhakara-badara-pātara - iii. 31.

A vessel of Badara fruits (*Zizyphus mauritiana*) in the hand of a blind man. The idea is that other people take away the fruits without the knowledge of the owner. -vi. 54.

There is no molasses without juice. There is no person without inherent nature.

Rājate prabhoḥ lalitam - iii. 43.

The self-willed sports of the master look well.

Rājate maunam ajñānataḥ - iii. 43.

Silence is befitting to the ignorant.

Rājate priyāyā manaḥ - iii. 43.

Anger behoves the beloved.

Rājate jñānato bhaṇitam - ii. 43.

Speech befits one who knows. The *Karpūramañjarī* contains at least the two proverbs noted below:

Sīse sappo desantare vejjo

The serpent on the head and the physician in another country.

Taḍaṃ gaḍḍe vi nāvāe ṇa visāssīadi

Eeven when a boat touches the bank, it cannot be trusted.

The above work refers (i, p. 14) to a parrot in the cage; these birds were, perhaps, maintained by people as their pets. It is stated (i. 17) that, in Lanka (Ceylon), garlands used to be kept hanging in the doorways. A popular practice was to sprinkle water on a knot in a hempen rope so as to make it light (i, p. 23). A hen-pecked husband appears to have been an object of contempt (iii, p. 70). The use of palm-leaf fans in summer is referred to in iii. 20. There is reference (iv. 8) to people being besprinkled with drops of water coming out of the fans which were obviously soaked in water before use. Shower-bath appears to have been used in summer (iii. 20; iv. 20). 1-10 refers to the showering machine. In this season, sandal-paste appears to have been made more fragrant with powdered camphor (iv. 5).

The *Karakaṇḍa-cariu* (II.9) refers to the following weapons of the people : sword, disc, spear, dagger, bow, javelin. This work mentions the tribe called Bhilla. The Bhillas are described as dark-complexioned and red like Guñja. It appears that they were bird-catchers (VIII.7,1). A class of people, known as Ṭakku (hailing from the Punjab?) appears to have dealt in horses (VIII.16). A tribe, called Pulinda, is mentioned in IV.2.

Some information about folklife is available also in a few biographical works in Apabhraṃśa. For instance, in the *Jasahara-cariu*, the king is stated to have prayed to *kaulācārya* Bhairavananda for capacity to fly in the air; such supernatural feats were believed by the common people. At places, there is glorification of the *vrata* called *Pañcakalyāṇa-vidhāna* and of fast as its accessory. The *Ṇāyakumāra-cariu* glorifies Jaina *vratas* of which Śruta-pañcami is an important one. The *Neminātha-caupai* contains, among other things, *vāramāsyā* or description of the activities in twelve months of the year. It reflects the way of popular life, and , perhaps, served as the immediate precursor of the *Vāramāsyās*, well-known in some of later literatures, notably Hindi and Bengali.[2] The *Bhavisayatta-kahā* aims at preaching the glory of the five-year-long Pañcamī-vrata. In doing so, it has given poetical form to a popular tale. The work introduces supernatural elements. For example, it relates how Bhavisayatta married a princess with divine help. The author shows insight into human nature; deceit, practised by brothers, is beautifully portrayed. The nature of women has been depicted in a realistic manner.

The Kathānaka literature of the Jainas is a great repository of narratives some of which contain folk elements. Some of these works

are in Prakrit (e.g. *Kālakāčārya-kathānaka, Kathāmahodadhi*) and some in Apabhraṃśa (e.g. *Kathākośa* of Śrīcandra). The Apabhraṃśa Purāṇas, seeking to inculcate religious principles, also contain a number of popular narratives.

As the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* were very popular, the Jainas utilised the epic stories to propagate their faith. In doing so, they have made many innovations some of which appear to reflect popular belief. In the Jaina works, Rāma is called Pauma (Padma). A very important Jain work, based on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, is the *Paumacariya*. The most prominent change, introduced by the Jainas, is that Sītā was represented as the daughter of Rāvaṇa and Mandodarī.

An important Jain work, based on the *Mahābhārata*, is the *Pāṇḍava-purāṇa* or Jaina *Mahābhārata*. In some Jaina *Mahābhārata* stories, the Pāṇḍavas, Kauravas and Kṛṣṇa are represented as converted to Jainism. The credulity and the naivete of the gullible masses, having no knowledge of the original Brahmanical epics, appear to have been exploited by the Jaina authors.

There are some other references to elements in folklife scattered at various places. The space at our disposal precludes a detailed account of them. We shall, therefore, simply refer to the contents which may be looked up by the interested reader.

Story about right and wrong conduct - *Āyāraṅga*, vi, ch. vii.

Verses of the *Gāthāsaptaśatī*:

I.	4,	8,	14,	16,	49,	76,	81,	94.
II.	7,	15,	28,	71,	75,	78.		
III.	7,	11,	27,	53,	59,	97.		
IV.	35,	63,	87.					
V.	2,	10,	22,	36,	49,	51,	69.	
VI.	49.							
VII.	88.							

NOTES

1. Generally known as Ululu. At many places in Bangladesh, it is called *jokāra*.
2. See Sukukar Sen, *Vāṃlā Sāhityer Itihās*, I, pt. 1, 1978, p. 95.

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ABBREVIATIONS

GS	-	Gāthāsaptaśatī
GV	-	Gauḍavaho
KKC	-	Karakaṇḍacariu
NKC	-	Nāyakumāracariu

Jainism as Expounded in the *Nīlakeci*

G.V. Saroja

The 10th century A.D. Tamil work *Nīlakēci*, written mainly to refute another Buddhist Tamil work *Kuṇṭalakēci*, criticises other schools of Indian philosophy in order to propagate Jainism in Tamil Nadu. The anonymous author of this work has taken the Kāḷi of Paḷayaṉur as the heroine of his dream-story. This Kāḷi or *Nīli* of the *Nīlakēci* is different from three other Nīlis of the following works :

1. Kāḷi of Paḷayaṉūr who was tamed by Lord Śiva of Tiruvālankāṭu - Ñānacampantar's *Tēvāram*.
2. The Jain monk Samanthabhadra in his work *Ratnakarandaka śrāvakācāra* refers to a Jaina lady Nīli whose story has been narrated by the commentator Prābhacandrācārya. This Jaina lady got married to a Buddhist who posed as the son of a Jain merchant. When she was forced to prepare a meat-dish for a Buddhist monk, she made a dish with one of the *chappals* of the monk. Later her Buddhist husband and his father being enraged accused her of unchastity. A Jaina devatā consoling her, helped her in opening the gate of the city by her mere touch. Previously, the king was informed in his dream by the devatā that only a chaste woman could open the closed gate.
3. Cēkkiḻār in his *Periya purāṇam* describes Nīli as a spirit which avenged her husband who murdered her along with her child by pushing them into a well after collecting her jewells.

Nīlakeci, the Paḷayaṉūr Kāḷi, was requested by the other spirits to tame a Jaina monk who obstructed animal sacrifices performed as offerings to a goddess, by advocating *ahiṃsā*. Nīli who failed in all her attempts finally became the disciple of the Jaina monk. Well versed in Jaina philosophy she was advised to propagate Jainism.

Her first target was the Buddhist nun Kuṇṭalakēci whom she

conquered in a debate in front of the ruler. Subsequently, Nīlakēci converted the Buddhist nun's preceptor, his preceptor and finally the Buddha himself. She advised them to practice the Jaina religion secretly fearing troubles from their former Buddhist followers.

The Jain monk Municandra Bhaṭṭāraka (Municantira paṭṭārakan) expounded to Nīlakēci the nature of Saṃsāra, the pain and misery undergone by the living beings in Saṃsāra, the cure for the same and the greatness of the cure.

Leaving aside the mythological elements and the hyperboles, we shall now proceed to deal with the aspects of the Jaina doctrine as found in the text under review.

The Jaina Cosmology

The Universe comprises three divisions—the lower, the middle and the higher. The lower one is divided into seven successive regions, one below the other, constituting the seven regions of the hell. Below the seventh, at the bottom is the super hell called Nigoḍha and beings cannot escape from this region. Beings who dwell in the seven different regions of hell may reach the *madhya loka* after reaping the results of their past *karma*. The results of their past deeds alone cause their sufferings in the different regions of the hell depending upon the magnitude of their sins.

Madhya loka, the abode of the humans and lower animals, is above the region of the hell. The various kinds of animals are classified on the basis of the number of sense organs possessed by them. The higher world *deva loka* is above the middle region. Thus the four kinds of beings, *narakar*, *vilanku* (animals), *manitar* and *tevar* are held by the three kinds of spheres.

The hell having an area of 84,00,000 measures, has the regions of darkness, smoke, mud, sand, small stones and beads.

There are two kinds of animals—stationary and moving—the former having one sense is further classified into trees, grass, plants, creepers and shrubs. Moving animals have two to five senses; possess 8 or 6 or 4 or 2 legs; capable of flying or walking, or crawling; and live on land or in sea. When a being takes an embodiment it is covered by womb; or sprouts from seeds, or comes out of an egg and experiences heat, cold or the mixture of the two. It either makes a noise or does not, and takes either a suitable or an unsuitable body, revolves in birth and experiences its past *karmas* (*pala viṇai*) through its present activities (verse 81).

Verses 82 to 85 define the following categories of beings :-

Good : These good people (virtuous) are born and live in the *bhoga* land which is defined as the two and a half islands—Camputtīvu, Tātakīṭaṇṭattīvu and half of the Puṭkarattivu.

Bad : Those who are born and live in small islands. They are sinful; their ruler has very minimum human virtues. Even if they practice austerities, they will not reap their results.

Tippiyar (divine) : Those who listen to Āgamas, meritorious, emperors like Bharata, Gandharvas who move in the sky, those who live in the Veḷḷi malai and are *pavviyar* (humble) are the divine beings.

Kumāṇuyar : Those ignorant beings who live in islands are devoid of virtues and have tails, horns and bent (*vaḷainta*) teeth.

Human beings : They are born in forests and gardens in the *Karma bhūmi*. With their austerities they get all their demerits removed, and are thus capable of attaining liberation.

Devas and others:

1. *Pavaṇar*: The ten kinds of beings including Agni kumāra who are purified by fire are the Pavaṇars.
2. *Viyanatarar*: Kiṇṇarar, Kimpuraṭar, Karuṭar, Kantaruvar, Iyakkar, Irākkatar, Pūtar and Picācar belong to this group.
3. *Cotiṭar*: The Sun, Moon, planets, stars, and the 27 stars (*nāṇm īṇ*) which live in the sky are the coṭiṭars. Some are fixed and the rest revolve round the Mantāra mountain.
4. *Karpadēvar*: They live in the 16 Karpa lokas starting with Cautamar karpam and ending with Āraṇa and Kaccuta Karpam.
5. *Vaimaṇikar*: They live beyond the Karpa lōkas. These brave gods exist in the Navakraivēyakas (of three groups each having three together), nine *diks* (directions) and in Pancānuttarankaḷ.

Sufferings of beings

Verses 91 to 112 describe the various sufferings of the beings depending upon their past *karmas*. The beings of the lowest Naraka-loka are black in colour; they fall down if they get up, and they are cut by swords. Their enemies also live with them. In the hell, there is no difference in sex and hence no enjoyment is possible. For the sins of killing and eating meat, molten copper will be poured into their mouth. The body will be burnt by fire. The beings cry for water.

In the case of animals, they either run away seeing another or being afraid are unable to run. They die in the Vedic sacrificial place, are sacrificed to the *bhūtas* by the ignorant and are also given to the diseases as medicines.

The sufferings experienced by all humans are differentiated from those experienced by men who are not humble. Anger, attachment, helplessness, fear, etc., cause sinful acts. Without knowing the consequences, for the sake of the dirty bodily enjoyments men commit sins. Sufferings are caused by inert and by living beings. Heavy rain, flood, wind, stones, poison, weapon, thunder, etc., harm men. Secondly, angry ghosts, humans and wild animals cause sufferings.

The gods do not suffer; only at the time of death do they suffer. The ghosts meet with many troubles.

Liberation

The liberated have no future births (116). The means or the medicine for the sufferings is the combination of *nallaṛivu*, *narkāṭci* and *nalloḷukkam* (right knowledge, right perception and right conduct).

To understand the reality of the soul and such inner things without doubts, mistakes, etc., is right knowledge. *Nīlakēci* classifies the inner things in terms of 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 numbers. The commentator Vāmana muni has explained this classification. The *jiva*, *ajīva*, *dharma* and *adharma* and *ākāśa* are the *pañcattikāyas*. The total becomes 6 when *kāla* is added to the 5. In the 7, *jīva*, *ajīva*, *āsrava*, *saṃvara*, *nirjarā*, bondage and liberation are included. The 8 consists of the preceptor, scripture, categories, *pramāṇas*, effort, *liṅga*, *cāritra* and *bhala*. Merit and demerit if added to the 7 yields 9.

Epistemology

Nīlakēci defines valid means of knowledge (*pramāṇas*) variously:

kāṇṭalum allatum kātci—verse 118.

Perception includes seeing and others (kinds). The five types—*poṛikkātci* (sense perception), *mānata* (mental), *avati jñāna*, *manap-paryāya* and *kevala jñāna* are the five means of knowledge—are attained by one's own past *karma*.

Āgama includes the following five kinds:

> memory, remembrance, not telling lies, telling the truth, and the utterances of a muni or preceptor (the *āptāgama*).

In the mediate knowledge (*parokṣa*), perception, *anumāna* (inference), memory comparison and postulation are included.

Verse 120 explains *cirappaḷavai* (special or the best means).

Following are the best means for attaining knowledge:

Vaippu—understanding the name, form, substance and particulars (or marks).

Nayam—understanding a thing by its special quality.

Pukuvāyil—To understand with the help of the eight methods—what is pointed out, day, instruments, time, place, quantity, result (or effect) and event (or phenomenon).

Uyiriyalpu

The *jīva* itself is a measure, starting from the subtle Jīva. There are 14 types.

Kuṇattāṇam—The commentator has given the names of the various *guṇasthānas*—*mityā dṛṣṭi*, *sasādhana*, *samyak dṛṣṭi*, *samyak mityā*, *asamyatam*, *deśa samyatam*, *pramattam*, *abhipramattam*, *abhurvakaraṇam*, *anivṛitti karaṇam*, *sukṣma*, *sāmbharāyam*, *upasānta kaṣāya*, *kīṇa kaṣāya*, *sayogi kevali* and *ayōgi kevali*.

Markkaṇai (mārgaṇāsthānam)

> The commentator has mentioned the following 14 kinds—*gati*, *indriya*, *kāya*, *yoga*, *veda*, *kaṣāya*, *jñāna*, *saṃyama*, *darśana*, *leśyā*, *bhavya*, *samyaktva*, *sajñā* and *ākāra*.

Right Perception

Those who have the right perception do not worship the worldly, false ascetics, false gods and such others, and are free from eight prides. The commentator has explained the eight prides as *jñāna*, worship, *kula*, *jati*, power, *ṛddhi*, *tapas* and body. Men of right perception remove the sins of others by preaching *dharma* and doctrine of love to the virtuous.

Good Conduct

Performing penances, ascetic practices, self-control, patience, right memory and upholding two types of *tapas* are the good characteristics. Fasting, reducing the quantity of food, limiting food consumed, not desiring food, solitude, and getting reduced by austerities are the bodily *tapas* or austerities. The spiritual *tapas* (*uyir tavam*) comprises performance of acts to ward off sins, being worshipful, removal of the diseases of others, chanting the scripture and teaching the same, detachment and thinking of what is pure.

Finally, in the verse 126, the Jaina nun guarantees no future births if the *jīvas* experience happiness as gods, avoid sinful acts and attain liberation. Thus the removal of both the bad and good *karmas* becomes a precondition for liberation in Jainism.

Jaina Monks and Nuns

Jaina ascetics who are absorbed in *jñāna* and *dhyāna* have no sufferings by sweat, etc., just as the elephant is not affected by the evils of the small insects.

If Jaina monks while going to beg, happen to see ladies going in front, they will beg and eat only the next day. If they see a Jaina nun in a house where they enter to beg, they will not eat that day. For them *kāma* or lust in thought itself is an evil. The monks and nuns do not stay in the same *vihāra*. Each sex has to accept asceticism only from their own sex.

Since *dharma* is to behave without doing harm to souls, *Nīlakēci* points out that the Jains prefer to tell a lie if its result is good.

The Jaina *alokākāśa* is the place where the liberated dwell; the liberated reach the *alokākāśa* and never return to *lokākāśa* which is the world of *saṃsāra*.

In the verse 439, it is said that the various objects are known by the *Kevala jñāna*, which has very many characteristics, by the general

and particular methods. The liberated knows the characteristics of objects in the past, in the present and of the future by his *kevala jñāna* every moment, and the objects in Jainism do appear and disappear. While explaining the characteristics of the Jaina liberation, *Nīlakēci* remarks that the liberated souls do not take birth, they attain eight characteristics such as knowledge, etc., and are eternal and stable (*nittiyam, nilaiyuḷatu*).

Refutation of Buddhism

Nīlakēci refutes one by one Kuṇṭalakēci's version of Buddhism. The Buddha cannot be great in the beginning, she argues, because his doctrines of suffering and the total destruction do not indicate his greatness. Suffering for others without getting any result must have been caused by his previous *karma*. Compassion also becomes meaningless when destruction is accepted. The *Nilakēci* gives a series of arguments to prove these inconsistencies.

The incidents narrated in the Jātaka tales are the acts of mad and possessed men but not of the wise. The offering of eyes to Indra by the Bodhisattva is declared as a foolish act. Removal of a part of one's body is foolishness. The removed part such as eyes will be eaten only by a crow. Nīlakēci thus criticises a number of Jātaka tales.

The necessity for verbal testimony even in Buddhism is finely argued in the *Nīlakēci*. By whichever means the Buddhist knows the *vijñāna skandha* by the same menas the Jaina knows the '*ātman*'. Further, the Buddhist texts accepts the existence of soul in a disguised way.

When the Buddhist who does perform *dharma* perishes that moment (as according to the concept of momentariness), he cannot survive to experience the result. Though the performer does not get the result, the cunning Buddha preaches *dharma*. Thus, Nīli argues for the existence of soul, rejecting the *anātma* theory of Buddhism.

The concepts of *aśuci, anitya*, etc., are also rejected by the Jaina nun. The *piṭaka* that Buddha revealed, the virtues, etc., also are impure (*aśuci*); if everything is impermanent (*anitya*), even the Buddhist noble truths are impermanent and hence cannot be realities. The doctrine of momentariness and the series of consciousness are inconsistent and contradict the reaping of the results of one's own *karma* that Buddhism advocates. Buddha who does not accept *āṇmā* accepts some kind of *jīva* in the *vyavahārika* state. With reference to these Buddhist concepts some of the arguments of Nīli are very terse and some sarcastic. Buddha

states, 'I am not a soul, I am only the *pañca skandha piṇḍa*'. It is like stating foolishly by a man who climbs to pluck a tender coconut, 'I am a *maṭṭai*' (leaf stalk or the outer sheath of the fruit) when asked 'who has climbed the tree?'. Buddha, Nīli points out, has thus discarded the word *uyir* (*āṇmā*) but used instead *ainkanta pinṭam* (the aggregate of the five *skandhas*).

Another very powerful argument is the proof of the existence of *āṇmā*. In verse 506, *Nīlakēci* points out that *vijñāna* results in *saṃskāra* which produces *vedanā*. In that *vedanā*, there seems to be an entity that feels, that alone is soul or *āṇmā*. If other actions and feelings of consciousness are not related but are separate not having the cause-effect link, they cannot be obtained as above (from *vijñāna*, *saṃskāra*; and from *saṃskāra*, *vedanā*; etc.). The sensory organs exist together, but we get only one sensation as related to one organ at a time without getting all the sensations simultaneously. This phenomenon is possible only by the unique nature of the *āṇmā* or soul.

The *āṇmā* exists as the leader of the six sensations in the form of the 'present one knowledge' (*tarkālattu-ōr-aṟivu*). What the Jains name soul, *āṇmā*, or *jīva*, Buddha calls knowledge, *citta* and *vijñāna*.

Momentariness

The Buddha attains knowledge in a moment and simultaneously with this knowledge together he perishes fully. In the ensuing moment, he does not exist and thus cannot know the past events. Momentariness is inconsistent with *nirvāṇa*; momentary destruction of consciousness should therefore exist every moment. Penances, etc., are useless (verse 627).

Series of consciousness has been classified by Kuṇṭalakēci as *piṇṇa cantāṇam* (different series) and *piritil* or *eka cantānam* (same series). The first moment perishes completely and thus the succeeding consciousness cannot know the former. When there is no association between the previous and the succeeding consciousness, there is no point in advocating two series. Another fine argument on series of consciousness points out that if an act causes the enjoyment of a consciousness in Heaven, every consciousness must have the knowledge of action.

The Buddhist causality is also condemned. Milk does not perish completely effecting curd; without milk it is impossible to get curd and as such the Buddhist *asatkāryavāda* has to be rejected. There is only a chance of state in this phenomenon. Futher, it is possible for anything

to appear after its complete destruction, the series should continue *ad infinitum*, and no attainment of *nirvāṇa* is possible. Even after *nirvāṇa*, a new thing may appear to continue a series.

Nīlakēci condemns the Vinaya rules too. The luxurious life of the Buddhist monks and the *vāmācāra* tantric practices are vehemently condemned. Many wicked men attracted by the easy life of the Buddhist monks would have joined the Saṅgha. The monks collect immense wealth to build holy mansions (*vihāras*), at the same time preaching that wealth is unstable. They worship the images of the Buddha, at the same time consume the flesh of rabbits, etc., which are similar to the births taken by the Buddha earlier.

In the final chapter, Nilakēci argues with the Buddha himself. In one context the Buddha states:

> "That which performs the action perishes and that which appears in this series enjoys the results."(643)

Nīlakēci retorts stating that if that aggregate which gets the results is not the one that performs the action, it is like the horse becoming a mare. If it is not completely the action which is the beginning nor the other, it amounts to accepting the *syād vāda* of the Jains. On account of the characteristics of conjunction and disjunction, having both permanence and impermanence, if we state that the youth has become old, the Buddha has to accept a thing which is experienced as stable, to know and state is not possible for a stable person. This is the last argument of the Jaina nun after which she advises the Buddha whom she has converted to her fold, either to follow Jainism openly or secretly and uplift himself and finally attain liberation.

Refutation of the Ājīvaka Doctrines

The Ājīvaka's four main features—Lord, Scripture, Reality and Discipline—are unsupported by valid means of knowledge (*pramāṇas*). The silence of their Lord is unintelligible and purposeless, since those who know the Truth must reveal to the ignorant out of love and sympathy. The two devatās, Okkali and Okāli who revealed their truth, if they are omniscient, equipped with perfect knowledge, must have observed the vow of silence and hence could not have revealed the same.

The Ājīvaka can declare only the two categories and not the other three. Colour, smell, taste, touch, etc., are the qualities of earth, fire,

water, etc.; devoid of these, the elements cannot be observed by the senses.

To the Ājīvaka, what is existent cannot perish, and the non-existent cannot appear. In that case, a child should be a child always, the sprouting of a seed and becoming a tree cannot happen. There can be no 'becoming'.

Souls cannot have a form. If they are limited by space, they can be cut into many parts. Further, according to the Ājīvakas, soul and fire have upward movements; air and animals, horizontal; and water and earth, downward movement, as opposed to experience. Water gets evaporated and moves upward and air is also capable of upward and downward movements.

The Ājīvaka advocates virtues but does not accept their results.

Refutation of the Sāṅkhya System

If the soul (*puruṣa*) is actionless, it becomes a soul-less object; if not, speech, actions of the body, etc., are its actions. If the soul is actionless, the Sāṅkhya cannot be the teacher of the Sāṅkhya doctrines. Soul, according to the Sāṅkhya, can be great, of middle type or attached to *karma* (*viṇai uyir*). The first is actionless and action is possible in the case of the other two. If the *puruṣa* is actionless, qualityless, imperceptible, etc., nothing can be attained with it. Knowing, enjoying, reaching the other world, etc., are not possible for this soul.

In the verses 749 to 753, the process of evolution has been criticised. *Māṇ* or *Mahat* which is, conscious, cannot appear from the unconscious *prakṛti*. If *prakṛti* which is formless and has no first cause can originate *māṇ* which has form and also is a cause, even *ākāśa* can originate it.

Nīlakēci has criticised the lame and blind man analogy. If both the *puruṣa* and *prakṛti* are non-active and all-pervasive, there must be a contradictory position. Further, the Sāṅkhya advocated *ekātma vāda*. If the activities of the world are that of the one *ātman*, both killing and the performance of penances are its actions. Both the doctor and the patient, the killer and the killed and the receiver and the giver could be the same *ātman*. At the same time, the *puruṣa* should be a liberated soul, ruler, creator, performer of austerities, destroyer, etc.

If the object is eternal, the tall palm tree should exist eternally in the seed which we can hold in our palms.

The Vaiśeṣika system

The four *dravyas* beginning with earth are physical entities and hence they may all be put under one class instead of four. Nīlakēci rejects the Vaiśeṣika doctrine of sound being the quality of space. Space is formless and eternal while sound having a form and manifesting at a spot is non-eternal. Similarly, *dik* or direction is arbitrary depending upon the rise and set of the sun. *Manas* or mind is an activity exhibited by *ātman*. When it is embodied, it is equated with consciousness. *Kāla* or time is the relation brought about by the movement or modification of physical bodies in space.

In verse 798, the Vaiśeṣika conception of *guṇa* and *guṇi* has been condemned. If the two are different, the soul should be different from understanding and talking. Hence a corpse which is different from these qualities must according to the Vaiśeṣika must be the soul. Further, if a substance has not got its qualities but has acquired qualities as a result of *samavāya* or inherence, a particular *dravya* may not have its particular quality brought about by *samavāya*. As a result both may get nullified. If *guṇa* and *karma* are different from the *jīva* and if *samavāya* unites them, earlier to this union, *jīva* must be an inanimate entity, and the *guṇa* and *karma* would not have had these qualities earlier. The quality of coldness may have the chance of being united with fire. If *karma* and *guṇa* are independent of *dravya*, good and bad actions, reaping their results, revolving in *saṃsāra* and attaining liberation cannot be accepted (807).

The conceptions of *sāmānya* and *viśeṣa* are also refuted. If the former is different from *dravya*, it should change with the change in *dravya*; when the *dravya* is destroyed, the *sāmānya* present should also be destroyed. *Jīva-dravya* has intelligence. Is *viśeṣa* the same as intelligence or responsible for the manifestation of intelligence by *jīva*? A non-existent *padārtha* cannot produce manifestation in things, the manifestations which are existential effects.

Finally Nīli points out that the *dravyas* like *jīvas*, *ajiva*, earth, etc., are distinct when they are viewed as *dravyas*; when the qualities of the *dravyas* are viewed, the things which manifest through these qualities get submerged in the qualities.

Refutation of the Veda vāda

The Veda is created by man; there is no evidence to accept it as ancient. As the author is unknowm, it has been held to be self- manifested. It

forces those who study it to hunt for wealth, urges them to perform bad deeds, is capable of deluding them, is inconsistent, and causes killing, etc (verses 828-9). In the next verse, Nīlakēci asserts that the names of the authors are mentioned in the Veda.

The Vedavādins declare killing as bad, but they uphold killing as *dharma* while performing sacrifices for getting wealth. Veda is a work created by their forefathers for getting gold, land, wife, cows, horses, elephants, etc., from others. The Vedavādins kill living beings and offer them to gods who are either pleased or displeased. These gods cannot remove their sins caused by killing. The disease and spirits that have possessed the Vedavādins must have been the results of their past deeds. The deities who could not remove their sufferings are not capable of curing the sufferings of the Vedavādins.

The Bhūtavāda

In verse 863, addressing the Piśācaka, Nīlakēci remarks that it is useless to do penance, if there is no soul and hence, it is good to act as one wishes (as the mind wills). In the next verse she asks, "Which is the *bhūta* that argues with me?"

The Bhūtavādin relies only on sense perception. We can get the informations about the combination, of the origin of the body only through inference which will enable him to accept the existence of *jīva.* Consciousness cannot be a by-product of the five inanimate elements. If the human body and personality are derived from the five *bhūtas*, the moral and intellectual differences found among the individual human beings cannot be explained.

The Bhūtavādin tries to derive the five sense organs from the five *bhūtas*; and from sense organs the five sense qualities. If each sensation is obtained from its appropriate sense organ, intelligence cannot be produced from the combination of the five elements. A pot which is the modification of clay should behave in an identical way as the earth element in the human body . Further, the lower animals which do not have all the five sense organs must be considered to be made of lesser number of *bhūtas* and not by all the five together. Even a human being who is born defective in senses, must lack that particular element in his body. In the case of these defective persons, there is no change of intelligence appearing as it is the product of all the five senses.

The Bhūtavādin cannot account for *manas* or mind, memory and recognition. As there is no external stimulus, memory and recognition cannot be derived from the five *bhūtas* through their sense organs.

When a person swoons, the disappearance of consciousness or awareness has to be explained. In this case no physical disintegration sets in. Revival of consciousness has to be accounted for.

The continuity of human personality and the capacity to remember things by an old person imply a permanent conscious and intelligent entity as the basis of human personality. Past and future existences should be based on inference from the present experience. The life principle *jīva* directly known to us in the present may be inferred as having continued to exist in the past and that it will continue to exist in the future too.

If experience in the waking life is a by-product, psychic experiences and dreams have to be accounted for. Nīlakēci at this juncture asserts that spirits communicate with the living beings. When the Bhūtavādin doubted it, by her power she produced a terrible appearance of a *piśāca*, a disembodied spirit with only the face and the mouth. The Cārvāka teacher, it is stated, got frightened and collapsed into unconsciousness. Finally, the Piśācaka surrendered to Nīlakēci and accepted Jainism.

Nīlakēci after proving that Jainism alone could liberate a person from the bonds of *saṃsāra* converted all the other leaders of the other religions to her fold.

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Archaeological Sources Bearing on Early Jainism

K.D. Bajpai

Indological studies during the last 150 years have brought to light the importance of Jaina architecture, sculpture, painting and epigraphs as a source of Indian history and culture. These studies have, in a large measure, corroborated the evidence known from the literary and other sources. The significance of the vast and variegated Jaina source material is now widely acknowledged. An in-depth probe in this material has been amply rewarding for the study of various facets of Indian history.

The Stone Age tools and the pre-historic rock paintings have been discovered in different regions of the country. Painted rock shelters are largely known from the valleys of rivers Betwa, Narmada and Chambal in Madhya Pradesh. They have thrown interesting light on the early cultures of India. Some of the rock paintings represent the earliest activity in the field of pictorial art in the country. Several representations of symbols were adopted from the archaic rock paintings by the artists of the historical times. Indian art of the historical period bears several of those symbols.

In should be pointed out here that all the painted rock-shelters, found in different regions of the country, cannot be called pre- or proto-historic. Paintings and inscriptions in several rock shelters can be assigned to as late a period as the 14th century A.D. Nevertheless, the painted rock shelters have provided valuable source material.

The relics of the Harappan culture and various chalcolithic cultures in other parts of the country have clearly indicated that both the plastic and pictorial art developed during the proto-historic times.

The history of Indian art from the Maurya period onwards represents a harmonious blend of the religious and secular trends. Religion undoubtedly began to play a leading role in almost all the spheres of life and thought. The field of fine arts could not remain an exception.

From the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. the *bhakti* movement made a mark in the socioreligious life of the country. It is discernible not only in the Vedic-Puranic religion, but also in Jainism and Buddhism. It was largely responsible for a brisk activity in art and literature during the Śuṅga-Sātavāhana period. In the Śaka-Kuṣāṇa Age, more impetus was given to sculpture and architecture. Even foreign rulers, the Kuṣāṇas and the Kṣatrapas, were influenced by the new devotional trends in Indian society. They patronized Indian art to such an extent that a large number of temples, stūpas, vihāras and statues were made in several parts of the country. The relics of these found at Mathura, Kausambi, Vidisa, Ahicchattra, Bharhut, Sanchi, Amaravati and other places bear testimony to this.

During the Gupta peiod, the plastic, pictorial and performing arts had an all round growth both in the north and south India. Activities in these fields continued during the early medieval period.

The contribution of Jainism to Indian philosophical and material culture is considerable indeed. The inscriptional and literary evidence proves the existence of Jaina *stūpas* and of Tīrthaṅkara images before the Christian era. The Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela and a large number of imscriptions from Mathura and other sites have thrown light on this.

The Jaina works, like *Kalpasūtra*, *Rāyapaseniya*, *Aṅgavijjā*, *Nisītha* and several others, furnish valuable accounts pertaining to art of sculpture, architecture, painting, music and dramaturgy. When we study this literature along with the art forms extant in several parts of the country (e.g. Mathura, Vidisa, Kausambi, Ahicchattra, Rajgriha, and other art centres) we find that several of the art forms tally very well with their descriptions in scriptures. The Jaina literature on iconography and architecture is voluminous and is extremely valuable for the study of artistic development in different parts of the country.

The Jaina inscriptions are extremely valuable for the study of Indian art. They contain a good number of technical terms which are otherwise unknown to us. In the Jaina inscriptions of the Śaka-Kuṣāṇa period from Mathura interesting terms like *āyāgapaṭṭa*, *thūpa toraṇa*, *kubha*, *maṇḍavikā*, *śilādevī*, *grāmadevī*, *pratimāsarvatobhadrikā* have been found. Words such as *puṣkariṇī*, *ārāma*, *vihāra*, *puṇyaśālā*, etc. also occur in Jaina inscriptions. On the pedestal of the Jaina image of goddess Sarasvatī dated in the Śaka year 54 (i.e. 132 A.D.) the inscriptions states that the image was installed in a dance hall. This and other records furnish an interesting evidence of the popularity of the performing arts during the Kuṣāṇa period. The presiding deity of these

arts was Sarasvatī. In the inscription the donor is mentioned as Gopa, a lohika-kāruka (i.e. an artist who was by profession an ironsmith).

Artists working on gold, precious and semi-precious stones are also mentioned in several early inscriptions as *maṇikāras* and *hiraṇyakāras*.

On the famous Mathura *āyāgapatta* (no. Q 2), referring to the courtesan Lavaṇaśobhikā and her daughter, there is a miniature representation of a complete Jaina *stūpa* of the early Śaka-Kuṣāṇa period. It has a decorated *toranadvāra* and *vedikās* around.

The Sarvatobhadra Tīrthaṅkara statues from Mathura, Kausambi and several other sites represent on a single stone slab the four main Jaina deities, viz. Ādinātha, Neminātha, Pārśvanatha and Mahāvīra. These Tīrthaṅkaras are shown either in the *padmāsana* or in the *Khaḍgāsana*. The term *pratimāsarvatobhadrikā* for the first time occurs in the Mathura Jaina inscriptions of the Kuṣāṇa period. It was a new iconographic form, which was later on adopted in the Vedic-Puranic and the Buddhist pantheons.

Examples of Jaina *stūpas*, temples, monasteries and statues, of various forms, are known in different parts of the country. They furnish a glaring testimony to the development of various art forms. The canonical injunctions of the Jaina literature and the local faiths and social traits were adequately adhered to by the artists, who created various art forms. From the very early times Jainism gave a fillip to the aesthetic norms in art. The compositions and decorative patterns adopted in the Jaina art of the Śaka-Kuṣāṇa and the Gupta period are remarkable for their simplicity and grace. The construction of *vedikās* around the Jaina *stūpas* during the period 1st to 3rd centuries A.D. reached a high watermark in the history of Indian art. The human figures, popular stories and a plethora of nature carved on the railing pillars of Mathura represent a degree of excellence unsurpassed in the entire range of Indian plastic art. This art of abiding beauty had an everlasting impact on the later plastic art of India and the continuous regions of the north-west. The ivory art of Begram in Afghanistan and the art of the extensive Udyana-Gandhara regions prove this.

A blending of the aesthetic excellence with the iconic norms became a feature of the Jaina concept in regard to fine arts. This continued to develop in the country up to the late medieval times. As in other fields so also in the field of fine arts, the Jaina principle of *śila* was adhered to along with the traits of beauty and utility. It was due to certain essential restraints that the Jaina art did not suffer from the extreme sensuous characteristics which are seen in a section of early

perhaps providing the inspiration. At Gwalior, Ahār, Bānpur, Barhaṭā, Deogarh, Bahuriband and several other places in central India huge images were carved. In Rajasthan and Gujarat, several Jaina centres were developed during this period.

Besides the Tīrthaṅkara images, a large number of statues of Śāsana-devas, Nāgas, Navagrahas, Kṣetrapālas, Gandharvas, Kinnaras, etc., are still preserved. To the number of the early goddesses (Sarasvatī, Ambikā, Padmāvatī & Cakreśvarī), numerous other devīs were added. Depiction of the Jain Puranic stories and of folk-life in general was also a favourite with the contemporary artists. Natural scenes are met with here and there, some of them representing regional geographical features.

The Jaina business communities contributed considerably to the economic stability of the country. Their caravans passed through plains, forests and hills. the Sārthavāhas took care to study problems of the various classes of people whom they met during their travels. They tried to ameliorate the difficulties of the common people. At their halting places they built up shrines, wells, markets, etc. for public use. The relics of buildings found at several isolated sites represent the work of the Jaina business communities in different parts of the country. The inscriptional and numismatic evidence confirms this.

Ladies played significant roles in the progress of learning and development of socioreligious order. Names of a large number of such lady donors are preserved in ancient and medieval inscriptions.

Spread of Jinism in North India Between circa 200 B.C. and circa A.D. 300*

Smita Sahgal

Jinism[1] has been largely ignored by ancient Indian historians. For a sect that enjoyed a continuous existence at least from the time of Pārśvanātha (c. 800 B.C.) to the modern day, surprisingly little attention has been paid to it. Brahmanism and Buddhism have been better worked upon by historians. This hold specially true of the period under review.[2]

The period between c. 200 B.C. and c.A.D. 300 or roughly the post-Mauryan period was one of intense fluidity in the social economic and political field. It witnessed India's link with international trade. Foreigners such as the Bactrian Greeks or Yavanas, the Śaka-Pahlavas and Kuṣāṇas invaded north India and made it a part of their empire. Archaeological and numismatic finds from various sites in north and north-west India, such as Takṣaśilā, Ahicchatra, Kausāmbī, Mathurā etc. attest to a flourishing state of trade, industry and money economy. On the social front, this period witnessed the emergence of Vaiśyas, specially the mercantile community, as a group of considerable importance.

All these developments had an important impact on religion also. The period under review witnessed growth of Brahminism under the Śuṅgas, Kānvas and Saṭvāhanas. Buddhism received patronage from the foreign rulers like the Śakas and Kuṣāṇas. Kaṇiṣka was very open in his advocacy of Buddhism as his personal religion. These facts one gathers from various works on the post-Mauryan period. But what of Jinism? Historians do apprise us of its existence in the post-Mauryan period but not much is elaborated upon. Readers get an impression that Jinism had receded in the background after its initial popularity in the sixth century B.C.

Here we would like to show that not only Jinism existed in the

period under review, it actually flourished. It failed to catch the attention of the historians because unlike the other two sects it did not receive state patronage (at least in north India), and hence is not mentioned in those sources connected with royal life.

The absence of a strong link with people in authority (king) was something insisted upon in the Jaina literature. According to *Vyavahārasūtra*[3] a post-Mauryan text, the Jaina monks should not cultivate links with king or people close to him and at the same time do nothing to incur his displeasure. Though the text is not for the period under review, it does highlight the general Jaina attitude to maintaining distance from those in power. Their approach was of cultivating direct contact with the masses. This explains the absence of figures of Jina Tirthankara from the royal coins or their mention in the royal epigraphs. On the other hand there is a preponderance in source related to popular culture, specially art.

In the process of establishing the popularity of Jinism we can also study its pattern of growth i.e. the socio-economic factor behind its development, the changes within Jinism and the areas of its spread in north India.

It is important to specify what we understand by the term north India. Jinism in the Indian subcontinent is too expansive a topic to be covered in just one research paper. For the sake of convenience in handling research material and also for studying a smaller area in some depth, we have only taken up north India which includes middle and western Gangā plain and Yamunā plain. Bihar, Bengal and Orissa have been taken to be sites of eastern India and Maharashtra, Gujarat and Malwa area are sites of western India. However, northwest is taken into account here and some of its sites like Takṣasilā and Simhapura have been studied. There is a definite reason for including this area in the study. We are studying a period when the northwestern part of the subcontinent became the centre of the political gravity. Various changes—political, economic and social—that took place in the Indian mainland had their genesis in this area. Therefore, northwestern India and north India have been clubbed together under one heading.

Economic, Social and Political Background to the Growth of Jinism

As mentioned earlier from circa 200 B.C. to A.D. 300, India was passing through revolutionary changes—economic, social and political—which had an inevitable impact on religious developments.

The break-up of the Mauryan empire brought about consequences of far-reaching importance. It destroyed the political edifice so laboriously built by the succeeding dynasties of Magadha from the time of Haryaṅkas to the Mauryas. The Śuṅgas and Kāṇavas failed to hold the country together.[4] Around the end of the 2nd century B.C., a number of local dynasties emerged in the western Ganga plain for which we have numismatic evidences. At Kosala, descendants of Śuṅgas with the name of 'deva' established themselves. Their kingdom was absorbed in the Kuṣāṇa empire by the end of the first century A.D. At Ahicchatra and Kausambi too, the rule of 'Mitra' rulers is attested by their coins before their absorption in the Kuṣāṇa confines. Mathura too witnessed the rule of 'Mitra' and 'Datta' rulers before being taken over by the foreigners.

Along with emergence of those regional powers, an incident of far greater significance ensued. The end of the Mauryan rule opened the flood gates of north-west and stream of foreign invaders crossed the Hindukush and poured in the country from Central Asia. The Bactrian Greeks or Yavanas, Śakas, Pahlavas and Kuṣāṇas entered the subcontinent.

The Bactrian Greeks were the first to come after the collapse of the Mauryan empire. At least one of the rulers, Menander or Milinda, reached as far as Mathura. His return to Bactria and subsequent death resulted in the decline of Bactrian Greeks. They were followed by the Śakas or Scythians (as known from Chinese sources) from Central Asia. The construction of the great wall by the Han emperor Shi Hung Ti in the first century B.C. compelled the pastoral tribes of Scythia and Yu-e-Chis (or Kuṣāṇas) to migrate to South and West Asia in the hope of new pastures.

The Śakas established themselves in north-west, northern and western India. In the north and northern India the Śakas had to face challenge from yet another incoming Central Asian tribes i.e. the Kuṣāṇas. There had been two known Kuṣāṇa lines in the Indian subcontinent; the Kadphises and the Kaniṣka. According to Fan-Yeh's[5] history of the Han dynasty, the Yu-e-chi chief Kujula Kadphises united five tribes and established himself at Kabul. His son Wema Kadphises strengthened Kuṣāṇa territories in north-west India. However, the most

powerful of the Kuṣāṇa rulers was Kaṇiṣka I whose relationship with the former rulers is not quite established. He extended his empire as far as Banaras and Sanchi while retaining the control of north-west. Kaṇiṣka I was followed by Vāsiṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva I. The effective Kuṣāṇa power declined after Vasudeva I in about A.D. 186, though we do hear of Kuṣāṇa kings like Vāsudeva II and Kaṇiṣka III continuing till the mid-third century A.D.

Behind the maze of these varied political events certain economic motivations and forces can be discerned. The very movement of Śakas and Kuṣāṇas from China to Central and South Asia was determined by the need to locate new pastures. With the growth in trade and commerce and their growing importance in economy, we find the areas controlling the main trade routes,[6] specially the routes commanding the foreign trades, also coming to hold the reigns of political history. In fact the struggle of the Kuṣāṇas with Parthia was for controlling the Central Asian part of silk trade between Rome and China. Even in India, they set their eyes in commercially profitable areas; Takṣaśilā, Ahicchatra, Mathura, Sāketa and Kausāmbī.

The Kuṣāṇa rulers sought to promote commercial activities within their empire. By integrating Central Asia with north India, and providing security to the traders, throughout the empire, the Kuṣāṇas ensured frequent movement of merchants and goods and that too, with maximum tariff posts. They, for the first time, provided Indian merchants with the chance to participate in the silk trade.

The efforts of the Kuṣāṇa government in fostering trade can be further seen in their issuing gold coins which were initially modelled on the Roman pattern of similar weight standards.[7] These were obviously meant for international market. We have evidences of their being accepted outside Indian confines.[8]

We have numerous examples of internal trade also. Among the objects of Kuṣāṇa period found at Begram in eastern Afghanistan, there were not only glass vessels from Syria and lacquerbowls from China and Rome but also plaques of carved bones and ivory from India. At least some of the figures were carved in the style of Mathura art and might have been brought from there. Mathura like Begram was a part of the Kuṣāṇa empire. Stylistic influences of Mathura school can be noticed in a few ivory plaques unearthed at Dalverzin Tepe in Uzbekistan and datable to Kuṣāṇa period.[9]

Luxury items were in maximum demand both inside and outside Kuṣāṇa empire. These included items of cosmetics like perfumed oils, scented juices mentioned in *Angavijjā*[10] and cosmetic caskets as dis-

covered in Kausambi excavations. Indian pearl was also in great demand in Roman marts and so were textiles. Mathura was an important centre for Śaṭaka type of cotton and perhaps of silk industry also.[11] That fashion and luxury were feeding some of the major industries is an indication of general prosperity of the people. Other industries also thrived which included mining and metallurgy. According to B.N. Mukherjee, as in the Mauryan days, even now the mining industry was controlled by the state.[12]

India's expanding commerce, aided by the growth of industries led to economic advancement. That the effect of this development percolated to the masses can be verified from the numerous coins found in all denominations and metals like gold, silver, copper, potin and lead found from the Kuṣāṇa levels as Takṣaśilā, Ahicchatra, Śrāvastī and Sanghol in Mathura. The regular use of low denomination coins of metals is indicative of their being used for day-to-day transactions.

The unplanned and controlled growth of industry and trade as well as money economy had definite impact on social life also. It led to concentration of wealth in the hands of Vaiśyas and even among them the traders benefited the most. Merchants in the post-Mauryan period were not a homogeneous group. Ability and chance to accumulate power brought differences in their economic and social ranking. The epigraphs of the time allude to *negama*,[13] *sārthavāhas*,[14] *seṭṭis*[15] and *vaṇikas*.[16] *Negama* was the leader of a *nigam* i.e. an industrial or business corporate.[17] *Seṭṭi* was also a banker[18] as well as a big trader often moving with the *sattas*. *Sārthavāha* was the caravan leader with considerable authority over the *satta*. *Vaṇika* or *vāṇṇijja* was a comprehensive term including all shades of traders from big business magnates to small traders like *suvarnika* (trader in gold), *lohavāṇijja* (iron trader) and others.[19]

How far did Vaiśyas follow the profession of artisans, it is difficult to assess. Kangle and Sharma[20] have counted artisans as Śūdras, who were exempted from cash tax payment but have to perform forced labour (*viṣṭi*) once in a month. This, however, should not be considered a definite proof of their becoming Śūdras. In fact in a Jaina text artisans were called Aryans.[21]

However, their economic position was certainly not as sound as that of the traders. Traders who were engaged in selling goods reaped greater advantage of economic growth than did the producers. It was perhaps to demand higher wages and to face the competitions of big industrialists that a large number of artisans organised themselves in guilds. Guilds gave them advantage of bargaining power in a sense of security against exploitation of traders as well as political pressure.

Thus even among the Vaiśyas, wealthy merchants have status over and above all other caste groups. Even the position of agriculturists was not good. With the exception of the village headman or *grāmika* who risen to the position of a petty landowner as a result of grant of land in lieu of his services, the peasantry witnessed a decline in the status. The *Milindapañho*[22] and other texts refer to the emergence of landlordism and depression of peasantry to a position where they were clubbed with slaves, hired labourers and servants. This was the beginning of feudalism. The ranks of dependent peasantry swelled up as a result of adoption of agriculture as a profession by the Śūdras. This coupled with the expansion of trade and industry led to the withdrawal of a substantial section of the Vaiśya *varṇa* from agriculture.[23] Generally speaking commerce followed by industry was a most lucrative profession in the post-Mauryan period, more than agriculture.

With the money and power at their command, it was natural for the wealthy Vaiśyas to seek social prestige. The brahmanical social order accorded them the third position after the Brahmaṇas and Kṣatriyas which was more in line with their religious right than economic situation. In fact right from the sixth century B.C. many among the Vaiśyas had shown their inclination towards Buddhism and Jinism. These were anti-Vedic sects and gave due importance to their social standing. It was the mercantile community among the Vaiśyas that formed the social base of Jinism, perhaps because the Jaina emphasis on non-possession was taken to be an injunction against possession of land. The post-Mauryan period, as we have seen, brought about a boon to the mercantile community and this probably prompted them to support their Saṃgha in a big way. It may be added that by the post-Mauryan period Jinism had succeeded in forming a base, though small, amongst the rural population also. This we gather from a donative inscription[24] which makes a reference to donation by a lady from the family of *grāmika*. Jinism, thus, had won over at least a section of the village population. This is clearly an indication of the changing values within Jinism and the possession of land even among Jainas. The process was very slow during the post-Mauryan period. Except for this example, we have no other reference of Jaina base in the rural areas.

The relationship between Jain Saṃgha and laity was very strong. The Jaina church did not engage itself in any productive activity and depended on commoners to provide alms. In the post-Mauryan time their help came in form of various donations. This was a process which was taking place not only within Jinism but in Buddhism also. In fact

Buddhists were the first to receive land grants both from the rulers as well as the laity.

Out of the seven private land grants made to them as many as three were made by *negamas* and *seṭṭis*.[25] No land grant was made to Jaina church at this point of time probably because of its very small rural base.

The role of the mercantile community in promoting Jinism is best understood by a survey of its area of spread. We shall take up that a little later. Suffice it is to say here that Jinism in north India flourished in those areas which were also important centres of commerce.

The tremendous economic growth and rise of merchants was perhaps the main factor in the growth of Jinism in the post-Mauryan period. However, we cannot ignore the political climate of the period and how conducive it was to the existence and spread of Jinism.

The foreign rulers, Śakas and Kuṣāṇas, followed a very liberal religious policy. Among the Śakas, we know that Mahākṣatrapa Rañjuvala and his son Ṣoḍās were Buddhists. Their religious affiliation become clear from the famous Lion capital inscription at Mathura.[26] The inscription refers to a religious donation of cave monastery and a relic of Buddha to the Buddhists monks by the chief queen of Rañjuvala. Despite their open declaration of Buddhism as their personal religion, we have no evidence of the persecution of people of other sects by them.

The imperial Kuṣāṇas also tolerated and even patronised to some extent, the practice of diverse religious systems in the empire; at least during the rule of Kaṇiṣka I, Vāsiṣka and Huviṣka. Numerous deities, such as Oesho (Śiva), Oado (Persian Wind God), Attisho (Persian fire god), Nanā (Greek goddess), Śākya Muni (Buddha) and so forth occur on the Kuṣāṇa coins. Kaṇiṣka was vocal in his inclination to Buddhism. The fourth council of Buddhism was held in Kashmir during his time. He erected a Buddhist monastery at Peshawar. At the same time he was a patron of other sects also. Kaṇiṣka is said to have been connected with the establishment of a dynastic sanctuary at Surkha Kotal associated with the fire cult.[27]

Even the successors of Huviṣka were tolerant of other sects. The evidence of contemporary sources like the products of Bactrian, Gandhara and Mathura art and various coin devices indicate the presence of a general spirit of toleration and even syncretism throughout the major part of the empire. Not only the great religious faith with large following in the different parts of the empire flourished but also sects that received no royal patronage like Jinism did not lag behind.

It was political expediency which demanded that the Śakas and Kuṣāṇas remain religiously liberal. They were aliens to the country and so it was necessary for them to adopt a popular faith like Brahmanism or Buddhism and at the same time give recognition to other religious forms.

There was yet another reason for the existence of multiple sects; it was the heterogeneous character of the Kuṣāṇa society. The Kuṣāṇa empire was vast and included various ethnic types. The complexity of the situation was accentuated with the movement of trade, people and ideas from the one region to another. The growth of new urban centres brought diverse populations together. This favoured co-existence, co-mingling and co-fusion of races and ideas. An effort to bring about uniformity in the empire by imposing a single region could have resulted in unrest. Thus for their own survival the Kuṣāṇas followed a pragmatic policy. Though Buddhism and Brahminism were consciously promoted, at least no effort was made to wipe out other sects like Jinism.

Changes within Jinism Between c. 200 B.C. and c. A.D. 300

Jinism was not some kind of an unchanging monolith; it was conditioned by the spirit of time and space. Between c. 200 B.C. and c. A.D. 300 changes took place both at the ascetic and popular levels. In the first case differences are visible in doctrinal changes and in developments within Jaina monastic order. At the popular level, the expansion of Jaina pantheon, beginning of idol worship and various developments in the fields of arts point out the direction in which Jaina popular activities was growing. Apart from the developments in the socio-economic field what accounted for the changes in the sects was the challenge thrown by rival sects of Buddhism and Brahmanism and an increased interaction between the ascetic and lay population.

Before we take up the issue of doctrinal changes in greater detail, it is important to make a reference to the schism that divided the Jains into Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras, sometimes during the period under review. The process of schism had started as early as sixth century B.C. In all eight schisms took place up to the major Digambara-Śvetāmbara division.[28]

Certain economic factors were apparently responsible for the division. The famine of the third century B.C. resulted in the migration of a number of Jaina Monks to south India. The famine must have made this section within the sect take to a strictly austere life-style. Their

rigidity was not welcomed by the rest who found it an encumbrance in social interaction and spread of their sects. These differences along with the migration might have brought about the final split. The schism was a long process and no definite date can be assigned to it. Only on the basis of early Digambara texts can it be given a rough date of first century A.D.

The doctrinal changes that came about in our period of study were a result of intense intellectual activities that affected not only Jinism but other sects as well. Buddhism, for example, witnessed the emergence of a number of schools. At Mathura itself there were two different sects that shifted from early Buddhist realism to absolute idealism. These were the Sarvāstivādins and the Mahāsaṅghikas[29] who popularised the concept of Boddhisatvas and worship of idol of Buddha. Similarly in case of Brahmanism new schools of philosophy were gradually taking shape in the post-Mauryan period like the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Mīmāṃsā and Vedānta.

The changed intellectual atmosphere brought into open debate issues like cosmology, prominence of soul, *karma*, consciousness, etc. Faced with growing popularity of rival sects and with the question of its own survival, Jinism was forced to alter its own philosophies and to equip itself with the argumental sophistication of its rivals. The result was a subtle shift from the realistic nature of Jaina standpoint to an idealist one.

At its incipient stage[30] Jinism was an ethical religion which wanted to solve the socioe-conomic crisis of a particular age. The principles propagated by Mahāvīra were based on reason and logic. Early Jaina thinkers did not give up their empirical base. Still targeting against Brahmanism, the Jaina thinkers questioned the absoluteness of truth and eternity. This resulted in the idea of Syādvāda, the assertion of possibilities of seven-fold paroligism (Saptabhaṅgī). At this stage, the Jaina philosophy represented knowledge of nature, acquired through contemplation, observation and investigation of the phenomenon of nature itself. The approach of understanding of nature was scientific. God had no place in Jaina ideology because he could not be perceived.[31] Jīva was an animate object and Ajīva an inanimate.

Jaina philosophy founded on empiricism underwent a change at a sophisticated stage. Here we come across a conflict within the system, a conflict between empiric ideas of an earlier tradition and the intrusion of elements of *a priori* abstract ideas which opened the way for idealism. The concept of Jīva was revised. The biological considerations were thrown aside; the Jīva came to be looked upon as different from the

body, its existence was sought to be proved in that of consciousness itself.[32] New classifications were added to the concept of Jīva and also to *karma*.

Some of the philosophical changes were in line with certain developments taking place in other schools of philosophy. For example, six classifications of *karma* can well be compared to the four that developed in the Yoga system. Jinism made its stance clear vis-a-vis the Mīmāṃsakas when it underlined consciousness as the very essence of the soul, a point denied by the former. It was primarily to answer the philosophical issue that surfaced with the revision and formulation of ideologies of so many schools of the period, that Jinism was compelled to bring about a change in its own stance. The doctrinal shift, however, took a long time to become evident and cannot be specifically assigned to a period under review.

A somewhat similar problem comes up when we try to assess the developments within Jaina monastic order. With the sources at our disposal we cannot limit the developments only to the period under review. Our main source of information is the Jaina canon. Of the undivided community the canon is not available and the one preserved is claimed by Śvetāmbaras to be their own. This includes the twelve Aṅgas, the twelve Upāṅgas, the Prakīrṇas, the six Chedasūtras, the four Mūlasūtras and Anuyoga.

There are a number of non-canonical texts and commentaries but there is the problem of dating them. The earliest among them cannot be placed before the post-Gupta period. Even among the canonical texts there is the problem of stratification of the text. It is difficult to assign any specific date to them. For our purpose here, we have taken into account the Aṅgas the formulation of which started from 300 B.C. and stretched right up to the end of the Gupta period. However, it is important to bring in an element of caution. The developments suggested below as gathered from the canon probably took place in our period but we cannot speak with certainty.

It was realised by the Jaina thinkers that in order to spread the influence of Jinism they would have to organise their church. A church hierarchy[33] was worked out with *seha* or students at the bottom and *gaṇi*, the seniormost church officer, at the top. In between came *thera parvartin* and *ācārya*. For the purpose of smooth functioning of the church it was divided into various units. The *gaṇa*[34] was the largest unit and comprised a group of monks having common reading. *Kula*[35] was a subdivision of *gaṇa* and comprised a group of disciples of a particular *ācārya*.. *Sambhoga*[36] was a further sub-division and

comprised a group of monks bound by identical *samacārī* and took food together. We come across yet another division, that of *śākhā* which is explained as a line which branches of one teacher, in the *Kalpasūtra*.[37]

A cursory look at the various regulations made for the Jaina monks as prescribed in the Aṅgas highlight the importance Jaina thinkers laid on maintaining social rapport with the lay population. For example, monks were forbidden from frequenting the same houses for begging of food lest people began thinking that they became monks because they did not want to work.[38] It was with the idea of becoming socially acceptable that the Śvetāmbara monks were instructed to wear clothes. The *Ṭhāṇāṅga* clearly states the purpose of wearing clothes was to avoid shame (*hiripaṭṭitan*) and to avoid disregard from people 'if they feel so on seeing the monks' distorted limbs (*pānsahavaṭṭiyan*)'.[39] Thus the picture that emerges from the study of Aṅgas is that of an effort made by the Jaina church to organise itself in a way that not only would the contact with the masses be retained but actually strengthened.

So far we have concerned ourselves with the impact of the socio-economic changes on Jaina monastic life and on Jaina doctrines. It is important to take into account the changes that came on a popular level also, specially the laity which provided the full fledged economic and social support. It was difficult to impress an ordinary man with the abstract doctrines. These doctrines lack something very essential to him, that is, a god or a supernatural force which he could identify. In order to appease this very important section of the society, Jinism had to create a pantheon around its Tīrthaṅkaras. The deities chosen were pre-Vedic, already popular at mass level. The Yakṣa or Jakkha or Śāsāndevatā was absorbed because of his non-Vedic character. The Yakṣas were projected as possessors of the power to assume any shape and to award a boon to the people or take it away. Because of their earthy character they impressed the masses and entered both the Jaina as well as the Buddhist art as attendants of Jinas and Boddhisattvas.

The popularity of Yakṣas can be seen as early as the time of the Aṅga literature. The *Nyāyādhammakahāo* refers to the shrine of Salaga Jhakka who had the form of a horse, situated in a *vanakhaṇḍa* at Ratandvīpa.[40] The Jhakka saved two merchants from the clutches of cruel robbers and carried them to the city of Campā. These and many other examples can be sited from Jaina literature to comprehend their popular nature.

Along with Yakṣa worship also came idol and *stūpa* worship. Though Jinism ruled out the existence of god it could not ignore the emergence of contemporary Mahāyāna form of Buddhism which as-

signed the status of a god to Buddha and received a positive response from the laity. The spirit of competition led to an equally tremendous growth in idol worship. It should be asserted that Jinism was not traditionally against idol worship. A Jina need not be worshipped in the traditional sense of the term i.e. he is not there to provide boons but his idol is there to inspire the laity if they want emancipation from the worldly bonds. This was a clause enough to promote development in Jaina iconography. Hundreds of Jina statues discovered from various sites of north India and especially from Mathura attest to the growing popularity of idol worship in the period under review.

The practice of erecting *stūpa* and *stūpa*-worship also had a similar connotation. The *stūpas* which housed some remains of the Jina or his statue was certainly not for the benefit of the monks and yet the practice of *stūpa*-worship was condoned by them.[41] Numerous *pratimālekha*[42] found from Kankali Tila complex at Mathura suggest the eagerness of monks to associate themselves with those who made donations of idols at the complex. It is obviously indicative of an active religious interaction between the ascetics and lay Jainas and endorses our aforesaid point that Jaina ascetics and thinkers had to modify their view and life-style in accordance with the changing environment.

By the beginning of the Christian era the Jaina lay community had become resourceful enough in terms of both monetary strength and impressive following to make a dent in the original form of Jinism. This coupled with the changes in the rival sects of Brahmanism and Buddhism and the development on a socioeconomic front, spelt out a different course for Jaina history.

Spread of Jinism in North India Between Circa 200 B.C. and Circa 300 A.D.

The spread of Jinism in north India had started right from the time of Mahāvīra. However, the area covered then was confined largely to east India including Bengal, Bihar, and a few parts of eastern U.P. Mahāvīra had also visited Mathura and Jinism struck there. Two features stand out in the spread of Jinism during this time. First, it was the missionary zeal of the Jaina monks that is more responsible for the spread than royal patronage. Second, the social base of Jinism was primarily confined to the urban mercantile class.

By the third century B.C. Jinism had emerged as a fairly popular religion in north-India in areas like Śrāvastī, Ahicchatra, Kāmpilya, Takṣaśila and Siṃhapura. A cursory look at all the centres reveals that

they are urban and located in or around the trading centres. Thus there remained an element of continuity from the preceding periods: the importance of urbanism in the growth of the sect. As mentioned above, since the sixth century B.C. it was the mercantile community among the Vaiśyas that was attracted to Jinism. The post-Mauryan period being one of an unprecedented boon for the mercantile community, Jinism too witnessed an expansion. In other words, our hypothesis is that the growth of Jinism in north India between 200 B.C. and A.D. 300 is directly related to contemporary socio-economic developments. The point would become clear with the study of the centres.

Sāketa (modern Sahet Mahet in Ayodhya district): It was an early centre of Jinism. According to *Vividha Tīrthakalpa*[43] a temple of Muni Suvarta was constructed here before 300 B.C. and the centre has also been visited by Pārśvanātha. The importance of Sāketa lay in its being an important trade route. Sāketa and Śrāvastī were separated by a distance of about seven *yojanas*. Hence for a merchant who went from Śrāvastī to the east, the trade route passed from this town which was probably a halting place. As it catered to the needs of a mercantile class, it probably had a sizeable trading and artisanal population of Jaina affiliation.

Śrāvastī: Located on the border of Gonda and Bahraich in U.P., it became the seat of Jinism before the beginning of the Christian era. It was believed to be the birthplace of the third Tīrthaṅkara Sambhavanātha and also one of the ten capitals where the kings could be crowned. We have definite archaeological evidence of Śrāvastī as an important Jaina centre between 200 B.C. and A.D. 100. A temple of Sambhavanātha which was built before the Christian era has been excavated. A detailed description of the ruined temple has been given by Vogel in his report.[44] The temple has yielded a good number of Jaina idols including those of Ṛṣabhanātha and Mahāvīra with certain affiliation with Mathura style of art.

There was a definite economic reason behind Śrāvastī's emergence as an important religious centre for Jinism. It acted as the nerve centre of commerce in the ancient time as a number of trade routes emerged from there connecting it with several trade routes[45] which connected Śrāvastī with Śāketa, Rājgṛha, Kausāmbī, Vārāṇasī, Saṃkāśya and Takṣaśilā. An important trade route connected it with Ujjain, Māhiṣmatī, Pratiṣṭhāna and Bhṛgukaccha. Archaeological evidence also indicates that till the beginning of the Christian era the city retained its metropolitan character after which there is evidence of decline.[46] The excavated material suggests that the town was in a flourishing state spe-

cially during the first century A.D.

Kauśāmbī: Like Śrāvastī Kauśāmbī was also a commercial centre. It is identified with modern Kosam near Allahabad. Kauśāmbī enjoyed the geographical advantage of being at a junction of important trade routes. Right from the sixth century B.C. to the period of the Kuṣāṇas it remained a significant commercial centre. Excavations carried out in a large area at Kauśāmbī revealed that the place is richer in relics belonging to the Kuṣāṇa times as compared to the Gupta age. Jinism found fertile ground for growth in Kauśāmbī and areas around it on account of economic development and urbanism. But here an additional factor promoted the growth, which was political patronage. An inscription[47] assignable on palaeographic grounds to the first century B.C. found at Pabhosa near Kausambi, shows that the Jaina monks living at the famous town enjoyed royal patronage. The inscription of Āṣāḍhasena, the king of Ahicchatra shows that he was the maternal uncle of Bṛhaspatimitra of Kauśāmbī. A number of Jaina monks of Pabhosa came from Kausambi which is only nine miles from Pabhosa. Kauśāmbī which is still looked upon as a holy city by Jainas has fielded a number of Jaina antiquities. Epigraphic evidences of the existence of Jinism come from an inscription of the year 12 of king Śivamitra which mentions monks such as Baladāsa, Śivamitra and Śivapālita. R.D. Banerjee believes that this inscription is dated in the Kaniṣka year 78 A.D. and therefore its date corresponds to A.D. 90.[48] Jaina literature also speaks of it in some detail. According to *Āvasyaka Niryukti* it was the birthplace of the Tīrthaṅkara Padmaprabha.[49] In the Jaina text *Ṭhāṇāṅga* it is mentioned as one of the ten capitals. The reference to Kauśāmbika-śākhā that originated in the first half of the third century B.C. in the *Therāvalī* also proves the popularity of Jinism here.

Ahicchatra: Located in the Bareilly district of U.P. and represented by modern Ramgarh, Ahicchatra, the ancient capital of northern Pañcālas, was perhaps among the few holy cities of Jainas which is also mentioned as the business centre in the Jaina canonical literature itself.[50] Archaeological excavation shows that around 300 B.C. Ahicchatra had emerged as a sizeable settlement with mud and bricks buildings. The Kuṣāṇa-Gupta deposits reveal terracotta objects etc., which indicate habitation during the period.[51]

A Kuṣāṇa inscription[52] found at the pedestal of an idol of Neminātha bearing the date 50 refers to the Jina Pārśvanātha. A few other inscriptions have been found with the names of female donees. The inscriptions are useful because they highlight the practice of dona-

tions being made by female donees,[53] their mercantile/artisanal background alongwith elucidating the development, within the Jaina monastic organisation. The most definite proof of the existence of the Jaina monks at Ahicchatra is supplied by Lucknow museum Jaina image which refers to a monk who was a native of Ahicchatra.[54] Apart from the inscriptions, sculptural remains in the form of Jina images, remains of Lion pillar of the temple and *āyāgapaṭa* support our contention regarding its popularity as a Jaina centre.

Kāmpilya: Its association with Jinism pre-dates our period of study. Cunningham identified it with Kampil in the Farrukhabad district of U.P. Kampil was the capital of south Pañcālas. Jaina literature is profuse in its mention of Kāmpilya. Both Pārśvanātha and Mahāvira are said to have visited the city and it was also the birth place of the thirteenth Tīrthaṅkara Vimala.[55] He also received his Jinahood from this place. Many other Jaina monks like Parivrājaka Ammada[56] and Ninhava Āsimitta visited Kāmpillapura.

Though it has not been mentioned as a commercial city in the Jaina texts, it has been compared with the celestial city Amarāvatī. Its wealth and riches are glorified and *settis* like Piṇayaka, Koḷiya, Konda etc., are mentioned by name.[57] Kāmpilya's economic importance have been because of its geographical position, because this town lies on the route which ranges from Kānyakubja to Sāṃkāśya. Therefore, if a trader on his way from Kānyakubja to Soerryā passed through Sāṅkāsya had to pass through Kāmpilya[58] as well.

Śāṅkāsya or Sankissa: Located in Farrukhabad district of U.P., Śāṅkasya has also been regarded as a centre of Jinism. This has been gathered primarily on the basis of the *Therāvalī's* reference to Śāṅkasya-*śākha* under Cāraṇa *gaṇa* established in the third century B.C. Otherwise we do not have evidence in the form of material remains or epigraphs to support the contention.

North-West: In the north, Jinism was not just confined to the plains of the Ganga and Yamuna. Its influence extended right up to the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent. At least two important Jaina centres from the north-west can be cited to prove the popularity of the sect in this area—Takṣaśilā and Siṃhapura. Incidentally no Jaina epigraph has been reported from the north-west to confirm its popularity in the area but we have material remains, excavation reports and literary sources in support of our point.

Takṣaśilā, situated twenty miles north-west of modern Rawalpindi (Pakistan), has been extensively excavated and reported about. The pioneering work has carried out by John Marshall. He observes: 'Taxila

must have been adorned by Jain edifices, some of which were no doubt of considerable magnificence'.[59] Jinism reached its peak of popularity between c. 200 B.C. and A.D. 200 in Takṣaśilā, specially when it fell under the sway of Bactrian Greeks. Takṣaśilā then was identified with Sirkap city. Although it came into existence around the fifth century B.C., urbanism reached its peak between 200 B.C. and A.D. 200. The excavations show that it was a well developed city with streets flanked by single storeyed houses on both the sides and the shops interspersing the houses.

Marshall says that the shrines in the Blocks P and G in the excavated area of Sirkap were possibly Jaina. This is quite probable because Sirkap during the abovesaid period was an important centre of commerce and artisanal activities. Takṣaśilā had the advantage of being the nerve centre of three international trade routes; one from north and eastern India, a second from western Asia and a third from Kashmir and Central Asia.[60] Long distance trade is attested to by not only the finds of red sand stone from Mathura but also Roman Persian amphorae.[61] Coins and coin moulds are the most important relics of Takṣaśilā's ancient trade and exchange. Takṣaśilā was an important mint centre. Out of a total 7665 coins recovered from Sirkap about ninety per cent come from the late Śaka-Parthian levels.[62] Artisanal activity is attested to by carpenters and metal workers' tools, moulds and stamps for stamping of pottery and textiles; and metal discs for fashioning of coins and ornaments.[63] Takṣaśilā was then a leading trade mart and centre for diverse crafts. As an urban centre with such potential for investment and growth, it is likely that Takṣaśilā had a substantial Jaina lay and ascetic population.

The Jaina literary tradition associates Takṣaśilā with Bāhubali, a son of Ṛṣabhanātha who was believed to be a Jaina Sādhu.[64] The *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*[65] and *Āvaśyaka Curṇi*[66] state that Bāhubali had installed a jewelled *dharmacakra* at Takṣaśilā. The association of Bāhubali with Takṣaśilā is also mentioned in the *Vivdha Tīrthakalpa*.[67]

Since Takṣaśilā was one of the greatest cities of ancient India, it is but natural that Jainas should endeavour to extend their sphere of influence in this region.

Jinism had become popular in the Punjab region too. This can be gathered from the *Therāvalī* which refers to Audambarikā-*śākhā* which originated in Rohana in the third century B.C. This *śākha* was evidently linked with Audambaras, a well-known tribe of Punjab. In Punjab the popular centre of Jinism was Siṃhapura which is identified by Cunningham[68] with modern Ketas in the salt range.

According to Jaina canonical literature Sīhapura (i.e. Siṃhapura) was the birthplace of Śreyāṃsa, the eleventh Tīrthaṅkara. The *Varāṅgacarita*, a work of the seventh century A.D., refers to Siṃhapura as sacred to Śreyāṃsa.[69] Stein was successful in discovering a good number of Jaina antiquities from Siṃhapura which in his opinion are better executed than those found in Ellora. Stein also informs us that Siṃhapura remained an important centre of Jinism even at the time of his visit i.e. late nineteenth century.

A review of important centres of Jinism in north India (with the exception of Mathura) testifies to the argument put forward earlier i.e. the growth of Jinism was intimately linked with economic progress and political environment. It thrived in towns in and around the trade where lived a substantial population of merchants and artisans. The selection of the birthplaces of the Tīrthaṅkaras is also not coincidental. Deliberately those areas, rather cities, were chosen for the association which had already become important for the lay population and also where Jaina monks had made inroads.

It needs to be repeated that the political environment was also an important factor in the growth of Jinism. Details on political developments have been given earlier. Here we only need to stress that Jinism did not really receive any political encouragement for its spread. But at the same time it was not opposed by any dynasty or ruler and the Jaina monks and followers could carry on the work of propagation without much interference. Of direct royal patronage as granted to Buddhism, not many examples can be cited, not just for north India but for the whole of India. The only exception was Khāravela who also patronized Brahmanism. While the Buddhist effort was to seek royal support for propagating the sect, the Jainas appealed directly to the masses. This could be one of the reasons why Buddhism disappeared from India once the royal patronage was withdrawn. But Jinism that had acquired following with the masses continues to exist till this date.

Mathura: Special mention has to be made of Mathura because it was the most important centre of Jinism in north India during our period of study. Once again our effort is to show that Mathura's economic developments and its being an important Jaina centre was not coincidental. Mathura owed its economic developments to its being located on a famous trade route. It was situated on the 'Delhi-Agra filter zone'[70] to the west of the upper Ganga Basin. Because of this position it was connected with Central Asia through the north-western route and also with the western coast through the Ujjain route. It had no special advantage from the point of agriculture. The carrying capacity of soil

was poor and the rainfall it received was also insufficient i.e. 21.43.[71] Long distance trade thus remained its *raison d'etre*.

Trade in luxury goods dominated the long distance trade. Trade in silk, when temporarily disturbed on Central Asian route, was diverted to the eastern part of the Roman Empire via Bṛgukaccha through Uttarāpatha which touched Mathura whence goods went to western coast via Vidisa, Ujjain.

Mathura was not only a commercial post, it was a thriving centre for industry. The sculpture of the period shows a number of lances, swords, sheaths,[71] shields and daggers, all indicating a flourising weaponry industry. These were possibly made of iron because the epigraphs show blacksmiths and traders in iron objects were an important group.[72]

Textile manufacturing was yet another important handicraft of the period under review. The presence of cotton dealers[73] coupled with reference to Mathura's *śaṭakas* in Patañjali[74] shows that it was an important centre of cloth manufacture with a considerable population of weavers. Cloth manufacture was supplemented by tailoring. The craft received a special impetus because of new dresses introduced by Indo-Scythians like the tunics, trousers, cloak etc. It is interesting to note that they were rich enough to set up their monastery.[75]

This account of the phenomenal rise of Mathura in Kuṣāṇa age is confirmed by a contemporary text *Lalitavistara*, which is considered to have been in existence in the first and third centuries.[76] This treatise refers to the city of Mathura which is prosperous and large and beautiful, and which is abounding in men.[77]

Even the Jaina texts speak of the economic significance of Mathura. The *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*[78] records that Mathura was a great commercial centre and from there merchants could go and conduct business in Dakkhina Mathura (Dakṣiṇa Mathurā) identified with present day Madurai and that one of the merchants also established family connection in that city. The *Āarāṅga Cūrṇi*[79] identified Mathura as a *thalapaṭṭana* (*sthalapaṭṭana*) where goods for trade were carried overland. While the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya*[80] observes that it was noted as a centre for cloth manufacturing and a business centre whose inhabitants lived on trade and not on cultivation of the land.[81]

From the above account it becomes clear that Mathura between c. 200 B.C. and A.D. 300 was a very important centre of commerce and trade. Merchants and artisans formed an important section of society both in terms of riches and number. It is quite likely that many of them were Jainas.

Mathura is well referred to in most of the Jains texts. The *Niśītha Cūrni*[82] calls it one of the ten capitals whose kings could be crowned. The *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*[83] cites Indapuha (Sanskrit Indrapura) as another name of Mathura. Pārśvanātha's visit is well recorded in *Jñātadharmakathā*. It is said that a park of Bramdīravade was visited. To Mathura also came Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth Tīrthaṅkara, during the reign of Siridama (Śrīdama).

The Jaina canonical texts inform us that a *stūpa* having been erected in Mathura by the Jainas, but claimed by Buddhists, culminated in a quarrel in which the latter was defeated. The Kaṅkālī Tilā *stūpa* about which we will study subsequently, has yielded a number of antiquities. Whether this dispute was over the same Jaina *stūpa* at Mathura we cannot say. But a number of later Jaina texts do speak of a *stūpa* built at Mathura.

In the *Vividhātirthakalpa*,[84] a collection of accounts of various Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras, composed by Jinaprabha Sūrī in the fourteenth century A.D., we hear of two Jaina monks visiting Mahinnapuri and staying in a part during the era of Jaina Supārśvanātha, there arose a controversy over the ownership of the *stūpa* with members of other sects, such as the Buddhists, Saivites and Vaiṣṇavas. Through divine intervention the image was proved to be that of the Jina and his *paṭa* (painting on the cloth) was carried through the city on *yātrā*.

The Jaina literature is thus profuse in its reference on Mathura. The dynamic position of Mathura in terms of economic developments was recognised in the texts. However, apart from literary evidences we have epigraphic and sculptural evidences also that prove apart from throwing light on the Mathura society of the post-Mauryan period, how important Mathura was to the post-Mauryan Jainas.

A large number of small dedicatory inscriptions are inscribed on the images of Jinas as well on votive tablets, i.e. *āyāgapaṭas*, arches etc. Most of these come from the *Kaṅkāli Ṭilā* (mound). Many of these were recorded by Führer in 1889 and later studied by Bühler and Lüders. Most of these appear in *Epigraphica Indica*, Vols. I, II, III and X in Lüders' *List* (*Epigraphia Indica*), Vol. X and more recently by Jennart in his book, *The Mathura Inscription*. Many of the statues bearing the inscriptions are in the State Museum, Lucknow.

The epigraphs studied in detail furnish invaluable information. It is quite supportive of our main contention that Jinism was a very popular religion in north India in the post-Mauryan period and that Mathura was a flourishing seat of this faith. The earliest Jaina inscription has been assigned the date of second century B.C. by Bühler. However, the

bulk belong to the Kuṣāṇa period. In this short paper it is difficult to take up each of the inscriptions and analyse in details. So we might just point a few inferences drawn from the study of the epigraphs. First, the existence of the epigraphs itself is a proof of the existence and popularity of Jinism in Mathura. As far as the political history is concerned, we get conclusive evidence of the Śaka and Kuṣāṇa rule in Mathura. It is also clear that the Śaka[85] and the Kuṣāṇas[86] followed different dating patterns. In case of Kuṣāṇas Kaṇiṣka started a dating pattern, Śaka Saṃvat, which was followed by his successors also.

On the contemporary social and economic life, epigraphs throw enough light. It is worth noticing that all images, *āyāgapaṭas* (tablets of homage) *sarvatobhadrikā pratimā* (four faced images) of *toraṇadvāras* (gates) or stone pillars mentioned in the epigraphs are donations.

Out of the inscriptions studied in detail at least forty show that *dānas* (donations) were made by females. All the donations are made by female lay worshippers at the request of nuns or monks. This is understandable as by the rules of monastic discipline, the members of the order were forbidden to own property beyond the scale of articles allowed to them.

One might rightly question why the female donors should dominate this activity. Only four inscriptions bear the name of male donors: Indrapāla,[87] Surā,[88] Govā[89] (Gopā) and Siṃhandikā.[90]

The phenomenon of women independently giving alms and making rich gifts does bespeak of a society more active and economically more gainful. The act of donation is clearly linked in their family background and urban milieu. In each of the epigraphs where the name of the woman is mentioned, her detailed family background and often the profession of husband and father are given. From these we get the idea that most of the female donors came from the mercantile background; from the family of *vaṇika*, or *śreṣṭhins*, or specifically *gandhika* and *hiraṇayaka*[91] (goldsmith), etc. The urban milieu seemed to have produced two more types of donor *gaṇikās* and *naṭakas*.[92]

Taking into account the urban base of the majority of women donors, it would be safe to assume that it was the emergent commercial spirit of the age which was largely responsible for making females an important category of donors. As for their making more donations than their males, it is probable that acts of religious merit were considered the responsibility of females among Jaina and Buddhist lay worshippers. There is a possibility that the tight schedule of the merchants prompted them to pass on the responsibility to the females.

Yet another factor might have been responsible: the generally lib-

eral atmosphere of the urban areas. The issue becomes clear if we contrast the initiative of urban-based (heterodox sect) female with the restrictions on female imposed by Brahmanical theories. They continued to idealize the pastoral social ethos and sought to perpetuate it by decrying and resisting all change connected with the growth of private property, urban development and commercial enterprise.[93] It was perhaps their rigid attitude that prevented them from presenting their women in a more liberal light. Women had no right on property except on *strīdhana*.[94] For women who were totally dependent on their male folks for economic existence, they could hardly have had the right to make donations independently.

Though the status of Buddhist and Jaina lay female worshippers was perhaps better than that of their Brahmanical counterparts, their social status remained inferior to men. This can be exemplified by numerous inscriptions where details of their family background is provided. Not only is husband's name given but event those of the father-in-law, father and even the sons are provided. The women were not simply recognized as individuals in their own rights.

The epigraphs are specially significant in elucidating the developments within the Jaina sect. Numerous inscriptions are found to have highlighted the developments within the Jaina monastic order, of which we have details account in the *Kalpasūtra*. Details of *gaṇa*, *kula*, *sākhā* and *saṃbhoga* indicate that the Saṃgha's hierarchical structure was well developed. The Jaina church had equipped itself for facing the challenge put forward by Buddhism and Brahmanism which also found a fertile ground for growth in Mathura.

The greatest development for the lay followers, as revealed by the epigraphs was the existence of *stūpa* worship. As has been suggested earlier, *stūpa* worship has little validity for ascetics. But the fact that they were eager to associate themselves with the donors of statues at the complex reveals the gradual acceptance of *stūpa* worship within the church itself. Similarly the image worship established by the epigraphs revealed the existence of a very strong section of laity at Mathura. Both *stūpa* and image worship form a part of the growing Jaina popular culture.

There is yet another element of Jinism that needs to be discussed here and that is the inclusion of Sarasvatī[95] in Jinism as revealed both in the epigraph and sculpture. The epigraph raises a few questions. Did it signify the beginning of absorption of Brahmanical deities in the Jain pantheon in order to make it mass oriented? Did Sarasvatī along with a

number of other symbols like *dharmacakra*, *caitya* and popular deities like Yakṣa actually constitute a common storehouse for all contemporary sects? Their absorption then might not signify the growing influence of one sect over another but utilization of those symbols and objects that were easily comprehensible by the people of the day.

According to J.P. Jain, the Jain Sarasvatī, which is the oldest representation of that goddess so far discovered in the whole of India, actually symbolized tremendous literary activity of the Jainas. We have seen earlier that the post-Mauryan period was one of re-thinking and speculation among the Brāhmaṇas and Buddhists. This fact along with the emergence of schismatic tendencies among Jainas at this time must have compelled the Jaina thinkers to redact various philosophies. The compilation of the canon came about as a result of the council of Valabhi of the fifth or sixth century. However, some kind of process of writing the canon had certainly started by this time.

Interestingly, none of the inscriptions found so far refer to donative land grants at this point in time. Unlike the Buddhists, the Jainas still did not acquire any land base. Jaina monks basically remained wanderers. We do get references to Jaina Vihāras[96] at Mathura and at least one epigraphic reference about a gift from a *grāmika* family but not many evidences come on way. In other words contact with agriculturists was ony gradually being established. This alone can explain the absence of land grants to Jaina monasteries.

In a nutshell, one can say that the epigraphic study of the finds at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathura reveals the importance of Jinism in and around Mathura between c. 200 B.C. and c. A.D. 300, along with reflecting changes in the political arena, social life, especially the status of women linked with economic background and developments within the Jaina sect.

Sculptural evidences come in form of various finds from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā *stūpa* complex. Once again a number of inferences can be drawn. First, *stūpa* worship in Jinism can be confirmed as early as the third century B.C. *Stūpa* worship is a feature common to both Buddhism and Jinism. It is argued that *stūpas* might have been erected for the purpose of housing remains of the dead.[97] It was perhaps a practice of showing respect to the dead, but gradually it gained religious overtones. At least in Buddhism it became a way of attaining *nibhāna*. Among the Jainas, the practice of worshipping *stūpas* is confirmed by various representations like J 250, J 623, J 535, J 20 (of State Museum, Lucknow), Q 2 (of Mathura Museum) and J 555 (of State Museum, Delhi).

Idol worship had also become popular by this time. During our

period of study four Jinas seem more popular than others; Mahāvīra, Nemināthа, Ṛṣabhanātha and Pārśvanātha. We also have reference to Munisuvrta and probably Śāntinātha.

It is interesting that in Jaina *Kalpasūtra*, lives of only four Tīrthaṅkaras, Ṛṣabhanātha, Nemināthа, Pārsvanātha and Mahāvīra—are described in detail probably forming the opinion of the original text. A glance at the stylized summary treatment of the remaining Tīrthaṅkaras lends doubt to their antiquity and would suggest later additions. The view seems to obtain support from the absence of images of twenty other Tīrthaṅkaras at Kaṅkālī Ṭilā at Mathura.

Before the practice of donating Jina statues became popular, the common practice was to donate an *āyāgapaṭa* or a tablet of homage which represented Jinas. So we have numerous presentations of *āyāgapaṭas* like J 256, J 686 A and J 232 (of State Museum Lucknow).

Apart from various finds comprising of *stūpa* representations, Jina statues and *āyāgapaṭas*, we also get remains of railing pillars, coping stones and *toraṇa dvāras* which were a part of the *stūpa* complex at Kaṅkālī Ṭilā.

That the schism between the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras had become complete by this time cannot really be gauged by this medium of expression. One does not come across male devotees without clothes (exception in case of J.26) as is the trend among Digambaras. They have instead an *ardhphalaka* to conceal their nudity. However, as far as Jina images are concerned, all the images are without clothes. The Śvetāmbara tradition of wearing a loin cloth found expression in art much later, in the eighth and ninth centuries A.D.

A comparison between the growth of Jinism in two important areas, the north and the east reveals that in the east (Bengal, Bihar and Orissa), Jinism received royal patronage, but not much can be said about its mass base. This we infer on the basis of paucity of independent Jina figures. On the other hand we come across numerous cave dwelling in Orissa in Udayagiri and Khandgiri which were obviously monastic retreats and donated by the rulers as revealed by the Hathigumpha inscription. In the north, though deprived of royal support, Jinism was supported by the followers and the numerous Jaina sculptures and their inscriptions corroborate the fact.

Thus one may state with confidence that Jinism flourished in the post-Mauryan period in the north and north-west India. It developed its base in all commercial centres. Mathura was its stronghold as is evident from various epigraphs, sculptures, as well as literary sources.

Historians of the period have done injustice to this religion by

practically relegating it to the background. Studies on Buddhism and Brahmanism seem to overshadow its existence. Here we would like to reiterate that the post-Mauryan centuries, especially those of the Kuṣāṇas, were as much conducive to the growth of this system as that of Brahmanism and Buddhism. Unfortunately, Jinism has merely received a mention in several historical works of the period but eluded rigorous probing and analysis.

The factors behind the growth of Jinism during the period under review may be sought in the existing socio-economic environment. International links with Central Asia during the Śaka and Kuṣāṇa periods rejuvenated not only trade but also industry. This, in turn, led to the emergence of the Vaiśya, especially the mercantile class comprising the Negamas, Seṭṭhis, Sārthavāhas, Vaṇikas and numerous other merchants as a powerful section not only in the economic but in the political sphere as well. This section of the society patronised Jinism and supported it by forming an impressive following and helping it financially. Their leading role in the promotion of *saṃghas* was reciprocated by Jinism adapting itself to the demands of the laity. The result was an incorporation of popular elements within Jinism like worship of *stūpas*, *yakṣas*, *tīrthaṅkaras*, etc.

The feature of absorption of popular element was common to all existent sects including Brahmanism and Buddhism. We have shown how Buddhism was among the early religions to absorb the Yakṣa cult within the pantheon and evolve a new theory to justify idol worship (as was the case of Mahāyānism).

Jinism was also alive to the need of assimilating popular deities. We have shown that Yakṣas had become an important part of the Jain pantheon. At Mathura, Jinism was prompt in accepting popular aspects of Kṛṣṇa cult also. Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma are projected as cousins as well as attendnts of Jina Neminātha. In the iconographic representation both are shown as pigmy attendants of Neminātha. The inclusion of Kṛṣṇa would then imply two things. First it was an attempt to placate the Jaina followers of Mathura who were well familiar with the popular deity. Alternatively, the absorption and subordination of Kṛṣṇa who was well on the way of becoming a very important Brahmanical deity may suggest a tension between Jinism and the incipient theistic Viṣṇuism. Mathura being a centre of Buddhism, Brahmanism and Jinism, tension among the followers of sects was quite likely and subordination of a popular deity of another sect was one way of showing one's own superiority. What needs to be highlighted is that Jainas were in a position to do so. The inference is clear that Jinism was a more popular religion in

Mathura at this time than Brahmanism. This we can verify from iconical presence also. The Jaina finds of post-Mauryan period at Mathura and Lucknow outnumber the Brahmanical finds.

On direct confrontation between the Jainas and Buddhists during the period under review we have very few references for north India. The Jaina texts[98] do speak of tussles between the Buddhists and the Jainas over the ownership of the *stūpa* at Mathura. Probably this is a reference to Kaṅkāli Ṭilā *stūpa*. The *Paumacariyam*, a text of the first century A.D. also speaks of efforts undertaken by seven Jaina monks to resist expansion of Buddhism and Sivism.[99]

The Jainas were well aware of the challenge thrown by the rival sects and that explains why they too incorporated the elements of popular culture and brought doctrinal changes.

In the final analysis, we reiterate that Jinism was a fairly popular religion of the period between circa 200 B.C. and circa A.D. 300. It had a sustained growth from the sixth century B.C. and the post-Mauryan five centuries were especially conducive to its development. Jinism itself remained no unchanging monolith. It stands out as an Indian religion with remarkable ability to adapt and coexist without losing its intrinsic identity.

NOTES

1. There is need to recognize grammatical aberration involved in the use of the more popular form i.e. Jainism. The word 'Jaina' which means a follower of the Jina is an adjective of the word Jina. It is, thus, incorrect to form another adjective of the word to connote a sect (Jainism). The correct usage should be Jinism or alternatively Jain religion. A similar argument can be put forward for the use of terms like Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism which should be Viṣṇuism and Śivaism. Interestingly, while we use Bauddha for a follower of the Buddha, the expression used is Buddhism and not Bauddhism. So, why Jainism?
2. Historians of the period like B.N. Mukherjee *Mathura and Its Society*, and *Rise and Fall of the Kuṣāṇa Empire*, Bhaskar Chattopadhyaya *Kuṣāṇa State and Indian Society, A Study in Post-Mauryan Polity and Society* and S.C. Bhattacharya *Some Aspects of Indian Society* have dealt with Jinism only in passing, laying greater attention to Buddhism and Brahmanism.
3. S.B. Deo, *History of Jaina Monachism*, p. 234.
4. K.A.N. Sastri, ed., *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, pp.

99-104.

5. Fan Yeh, *Hou Han Shu* (Ssu-Pu pie edition), Chapter II.
6. S.C. Bhattacharya, *op.cit.*, p. 3.
7. After the reforms of Nero at Rome the weight standard was reduced though purity of gold was maintained. In the Kuṣāṇa Empire the weight standard was maintained throughout the rule of the Kuṣāṇas even when the purity was reduced, e.g., Vima's coins had 98% gold while Vāsudeva's coins had only 58 per cent. McDowall, *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. 22, 1960, pp. 63-64.
8. For example, hoards of coins have been found in Ethiopia, *Congress Internationale di Numismatica*, Rome, 1961, p. 475f.
9. B.N. Mukherjee, 'Revenue, Trade and Society in the Kuṣāṇa Empire', *The Indian Historical Review*, Vol. VII, Nos. 1-2, 1980-81, p. 34.
10. *Aṅgavijjā*, Chap. 58.
11. R.S. Sharma, *Perspectives in Social and Economic History of Early India*, p. 17.
12. B.N. Mukherjee, *op.cit.*, p. 27.
13. Lüder's *List* (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X) 1000, 1024, 1072.
14. M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit English Dictionary*, c/915.
15. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 381-82.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 385.
17. S.C. Bhattacharya, *op.cit.*, p. 135. According to him it is wrong to interpret *nigama* as a town. He argues for its being a merchant organization or corporation for which he gives a lengthy argument.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 385.
19. S.C. Bhattacharya, *op.cit.*, p. 140.
20. R.P. Kangle, *The Kauṭiliya Arthaśāstra*, Part III, pp. 146-218; R.S. Sharma, *Śūdras in Ancient India*, p. 1796.
21. *Pannavanā*, p. 61.
22. *Milindapañho*, p. 147.
23. S.C. Bhattacharya, *op.cit.*, p. 13.
24. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 1, No. XI, p. 388.
25. Lüders' *List*, Nos. 1000, 1024, 1072.
26. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II, pt. I, p. 48.
27. B.N. Mukherjee, *The Rise and Fall of Kuṣāṇa Empire*, p. 388.
28. S.B. Deo, *History of Jaina Monachism*, p. 79.
29. Reference to the sects available in Mathura Inscriptions by Jenart, pp. 114, 121, 170, 190; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 212.
30. A term used by N.N. Bhattacharya to distinguish it from the later sophisticated stage, *Jaina Philosophy: Historical Outline*, p. xvii.
31. N.N. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. xix.
32. N.N. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 121.
33. Details given in *Ṭhānāṅga*, pp. 120b, 66.

34. *Samvāyāṅga*, p. 4b.
35. *Ṭhāṇāṅga*, p. 516a.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 139b.
37. *Kalpasūtra, Sacred Books of the East.*, Vol XXII, p. 28.
38. *Ācārāṅga*, II, p. 172.
39. *Ṭhāṇāṅga*, p. 138a.
40. *Nāyādhammakahao*, Vol. II, p. 127 ff.
41. Kendell Folkart, 'Jain Religious Life at Mathura: The Heritage of Late Victorian Interpretation', in Srinivasan, ed., *Mathura, The Cultural Heritage*, p. 111.
42. Most of these appear in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. I, II, X and Lüders *List* (given as appendix in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X.)
43. Jinavijaya, ed., *Vividha Tīrthakalpa*, p. 86.
44. *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1907-08, p. 113f.
45. R.S. Agrawala, *Trade Centres and Routes in North India*, p. 61.
46. K.K. Sinha, *Excavation at Sravasti*, p. 11.
47. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 242f; D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 95f.
48. A.K. Chatterjee, *A Comprehensive History of Jainism*, p. 92.
49. *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, p. 382.
50. *Nāyādhammakahāo*, 15, p. 158.
51. Y.D. Sharma, "Exploration of Historical Sites", *Ancient India*, Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 9, p. 137.
52. *Progress Report of the Epigraphical and Archaeological Branch NWP and Oudh from 1891-92*, p. 3.
53. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X and pp. 110-111.
54. Lüders' *List* (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X), No. 107 d.
55. *Tīrthodgarita*, verse 502.
56. *Bhagavatīsūtra*, para 530.
57. Hariṣena, *Kathākośa*, nos. 104 and 115.
58. B.C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 32.
59. *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1914-15, p. 2.
60. J. Marshall, *Taxila*, p. 1.
61. R.S. Sharma, *Urban Decay in India*, p. 12.
62. *Ibid.*
63. J. Marshall, *op.cit.*, pp. 202, 205.
64. Suthankar's note in *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1914-15, p. 39f.
65. Verse 322.
66. Vol. I, p. 180.
67. Jinavijaya, *op.cit.*, p. 27.
68. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 142 f.
69. A.K. Chatterjee, *op.cit.*, 98.
70. R.L. Singh, ed., *India, A Regional Geography*, p. 126.
71. R.S. Sharma, *Perspectives in Social and Economic History of*

Early India, p. 173.

72. Lüders' *List* Nos. 29, 53, 54.
73. *Ibid.*, no. 15.
74. Patañjali, I, 1.2.
75. Jennart, ed., *Mathura Inscriptions*, No. 74.
76. P.L. Vaidya, ed., *Lalitavistara*, p. xii.
77. *Ibid.*, Chap. II, p. 15.
78. J.C. Jain, *Life in Ancient India as Depicted in Jaina Canons*, p. 308.
79. *Ibid.*
80. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
81. U.P. Shah, "Mathura and Jainism", in Srinivasan, ed., *Mathura: The Cultural Heritage*, p. 211.
82. *Niśītha Cūrṇi*, Vol. II, p. 46.
83. *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, pp. 192-193.
84. *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, pp. 17-18.
85. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, No. 2, 3, p. 199.
86. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, no. 2, 203, Vol. II, No. 24, p. 206, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 382 and many others.
87. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, no. 201. pp. 202ff.
88. J. 23 of Accession Register, State Museum Lucknow.
89. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, no. 21, p. 391.
90. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, No. 30, p. 207.
91. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, No. 23, p. 205.
92. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, no. 5, p. 200.
93. Vijay Nath, *Dāna : Gift System in Ancient India*, p. 73.
94. *Manusmṛti*, Chapter IX, 194.
95. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, No. 21, p. 391.
96. Debala Mitra, "Mathura", in A.N. Ghosh, ed., *Jain Art and Architecture*, p. 63.
97. Sushila Pant, *Stūpa Architecture in India*, p. 42f.
98. *Vyavahāra Sūtra Bhāṣya*, 5, 2728. J.C. Jain, *Life in Ancient India as Depicted in Jaina Canons*, p. 309.
99. *Paumacariyam*, 89.42f.

Relics of the Jain Community in Eastern India

Bhaskar Chatterjee

The tradition recorded in the Jaina Purāṇas suggests that the place where twenty out of twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras realised the ultimate truth was located at Parashnath in Giridih district. The journey undertaken by Mahāvīra and his followers with a missionary zeal through Rāḍha-janapada including Vajjā-bhūmi and Suhma-bhūmi is described in the *Ācāranga-sūtra*. Vaṅga (East Bengal) and Rāḍhā (West Bengal) along with Aṅga (North Bengal) find mention in the Jaina *Bhagavatī-sūtra*. Again, the Jaina *Kalpa-sūtra* records the tradition that the Jain monks belonging to the school of Godāsa (*Godāsa gaṇa*), disciple of Bhadrabāhu, had their centres at Tāmralipti (Midnapure), Koṭivarṣa (Dinajpur), Puṇḍravardhana (Bogra) and Kharvaṭa (in West Bengal). The Paharpur Copper Plate Inscription (G.E. 159) testifies to the existence of a Jaina monastery at Vata-Gohāli (Goalbhiṭā near Paharpur) in the fifth century A.D. In the account of Hiuen Tsang (second quarter of the seventh century A.D.) it is stated that the Digambara Nirgranthas were numerous in Vaiśālī (North Bihar), Puṇḍravardhana (North Bengal), Samataṭa, (South-East Bengal) and Kaliṅga (Orissa). It appears, therefore, that by the seventh century A.D. the Nirgranthas formed a dominant religious sect in Bihar, Bengal and Orissa.

From the eighth century onward, the population of the Nirgranthas appear to have gradually suffered diminution under circumstances not exactly known. Neither epigraphic records nor literary sources give us to understand that the Nirgranthas (Jaina sect) continued to remain in worth-mentioning position during the Pāla-Sena period. One of the reasons might be the lack of patronage from the side of the ruling class. While the Pālas were pre-eminently pro-Buddhist, the Senas were in favour of Brahmanism. The Chandra rulers' religious policy was to extend patronage to Buddhism and the Varmans made common cause with the Senas to resuscitate the Puranic religious beliefs and practices. Whatever that might be, the discovery of a number

of Jaina icons in some parts of Bengal seems to suggest that the Jainas, although limited in number, were not totally wiped out of existence. Mention may in this connection, be made of an unique image of Ṛṣabhanātha (10th century A.D.) discovered at Sunohar (Dinajpur), an image of the same Tīrthaṅkara (11th century A.D.) found at Barabhum (Midnapore), an image of Pārśvanatha (10th century A.D.) at Deulbhira (Bankura), an image of the same Tirthankara (11th century A.D.) at Kantaberia (24 Parganas) and a rare specimen of Jina Śāntinatha (12th century A.D.) found at Ujani (Burdwan). The icon of Ambikā, the Yakṣiṇi of Neminātha, has also been found at Nalgora (24 Parganas). The discoveries indicate that in the districts of Dinajpur (North Bengal), Midnapore, Bankura, Burdwan and 24-Parganas (West Bengal), the Jainas maintained their precarious existence during the period between the tenth and the twelfth century A.D., despite the fact that Mahāyāna Buddhism with its Tantrik ramifications and Puranic Hinduism side by side with the Lokāyata beliefs and practices dominated the religious scenario. However, the silence of the epigraphs and literary texts leave no doubt about the gradual disappearance of the Digambara Nirgranthas who might have been merged with some of the religious sects which did not accept the Varṇāśrama but still clung to the Buddhist mysticism sometime towards the end of the Pāla period.

In P.C. Nahar's list of Jaina inscriptions found in Bengal there is hardly a single one that can be dated with definiteness earlier than the fifteenth century A.D. It would not therefore, be unreasonable to suppose that a fresh wave of Jaina immigrants from the west, having been lured by the prospects of trade and commerce, came to settle in Bengal sometime by the fifteenth century. The Jains who made their re-appearance in Bengal were not monks (Nirgranthas). They were householders, Śrāvakas.

II

The *Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa*, an Upa-Purāṇa most probably composed in Bengal approximately in the latter half of the thirteenth century A.D., if not later, has given as account of the 'thirty-six' mixed castes of Bengal. Following the theory of Varṇa-Saṅkara, as propounded in the *Manu Saṃhitā*, the *Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa* accommodates within the social order, besides Brāhmaṇas the castes that arose out of promiscuous unions between males and females belonging to the original four castes and also to the mixed castes resulting from their union. Those castes of mixed origin, having the status of Śūdra, have been classified as

uttama, madhyama and *adhama* Saṅkaras. The lists of the Saṅkaras include all professional groups and even some religious sects and tribal groups. The *madhyama saṅkaras* include one named as Śāvāka, Śāraka or Śāvāra. The name Śāvāka might have been derived from Śrāvaka by which name the Jaina householders came to be known. The Jaina community that had been Hinduised and thus got recognition as one of the castes in the Hindu society had acquired various designations in different localities in Bengal and Bihar, such as *Sarawak*, *Sāռāk* or *Sarāk*.

As far as the Puranic evidence goes, the *Sāռāks* or *Savāks* were settled in Bengal and Bihar over a long period of time in close contact with the upper Varṇas of the society. Otherwise, they would not have found a recognised place in the social order by the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. The probability cannot be ruled out that despite the disappearance of the Jaina ascetics' sect, the householders (*Upāsakas*) who worshipped the Tirthankaras maintained their precarious existence in some pockets. While in the early period the Digambara Nirgranthas did spread themselves in eastern India with a missionary zeal, the medieval period witnessed the journey undertaken by the lay-worshippers belonging to the Jain Church as a trading class from the west to the east, because in the meanwhile Jainism had lost its hold in Bihar and Bengal and made its influence felt in Kanauj and Mathura in U.P., Anahilavāda in Gujrat and Ujjayini in Malwa.

III

H. Risley's survey in Bihar and Bengal in 1882 and 1888 shows that the Sarāks were settled in the districts of Patna, Gaya, Shahabad, Muzaffarpur, Monghyr, Santal Parganas, Hazaribagh, Lohardanga, Manbhum, Bankura and Burdwan.Numerically the highest concentration of the Sarāk population was found in Lohardanga and Manbhum. Next in importance from the point of view of Sarāk population were Bankura, Santal Parganas, Patna, Gaya and Hazaribagh. The Sarak settlements in Burdwan and other districts, mentioned above, were not substantial in number.

The Sarāks in Manbhum maintain the tradition that their ancestors had come from 'Pāchet', that is, Panchakot. Dalton has introduced the 'Sarawaks" or "Jains" in Manbhum as "the earliest Aryan settlers in this part of India." The expression "earliest Aryan settlers" seems to indicate the remotest ancestors or predecessors of the Jains of the nineteenth century. According to a tradition, the Sarāks had been

settled in Manbhum for more than seven generations. The earliest Aryan settlers were, no doubt, the Jaina missionaries who came to Bengal in the pre-Christian era. Saraks are introduced by Risley as a small caste of Chotanagpur, a "Hinduised remnant of the early Jain people".

The Saraks in Manbhum-Purulia have been described thus :

(a) Contrasted with the Mundas and Kols, they are distinguished by their fairer complexion, regular features and a peculiarity of wearing the hair in knob rather high on the back of the head.

(b) They manage to combine trade with agricultural pursuits, doing business both as farmers and moneylenders.

(c) Under the British government, not one of their community had ever been convicted of heinous crime.

(d) They are represented as having great scruples against taking life.

(e) They must not eat till they have seen the sun.

(f) They venerate Pārśvanātha.

S.C.Roy's survey records that according to the Census of 1901, ten thousand and five hundred Saraks inhabited the district of Manbhum. The concentration of the Saraks was in the areas under Raghunathpur, Para and Gaurandi police stations in the northwest. The areas under Chandil and Chās police stations in the south and west were also inhabited by them.

It has been suggested that the Sarākas made their advent in Manbhum-Purulia sometime in the fifteenth-sixteenth century A.D. They seem to have proceeded from Chotanagpur, crossed the Damodar and arrived at Panchakot. It was from Panchakot that the Saraks spread in Manbhum. The areas inhabited by the Saraks in Manbhum included the police stations located not very far from Panchakot, such as Raghunathpur, Para, Kasipur, Neturia and Santuri. Apparently it was from Manbhum that the Saraks moved to other districts of West Bengal and set up their colonies.

IV

Local legends ascribe to the Saraks the ruined Jain temples and defaced images of the Tīrthaṅkaras. It may reasonably be surmised that the places where the "monuments of their ingenuity and piety" have been

found were inhabited by the Saraks.

Purulia-Manbhum: At Suisa in Baghmundi police station in Purulia district were found a number of images of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras and Jaina goddess Ambikā along with some Brahmanical and Buddhist images. In the villages of Dulmi and Deuli on the river Suvarnarekha were found a large number of Jaina temples and images of Tīrthaṅkaras. Beglar explored these areas. At Palma, Dalton found a temple on a mound covered with stone and brick and "sculptures of perfectly nude male figures" scattered in different places. At the village Para, Beglar found two ruined temples, one made of stone and the other of brick. At Charda, Dalton found two stone temples intact and the other five temples in ruins. Beglar has recorded the discovery of "numerous votive Caityas with mutilated figures, either of Buddha or one of the Jaina hierarchs". At Pakbirḍā, Beglar noticed a group of temples occupying "the surface of a piece of rising ground 300 to 350 feet square". In those temples were installed the images of some Tīrthaṅkaras. Broken parts of the temples and fragments of images are found scattered all over the site.

Bankura: At the village Mandalkuli (Raypur P.S.) in Bankura district a large number of Jaina images, some broken and some intact, have recently been found. At Ambikanagar (P.S. Ranibandh) the images of Ambikā, Śāsanadevī of Neminātha, those of Ṛṣabhanātha, Pārśvanātha and Śāntinātha and some *Rekha* type temples of stone were found by Debala Mitra. At Dharapat (P.S. Bishnupur) was discovered a Jaina temple in ruined condition and the images of Ādinātha and Pārśvanatha were also found. The images of the Tīrthaṅkaras adorn the walls of a temple dedicated to Viṣṇu.

Burdwan: At Domohoni near Asansol in Burdwan district have been found the debris of a ruined temple, some broken parts of the temple, minature votive *caityas*, broken images of some Tīrthaṅkaras and figures of some Brahmanical divinities.

The Jain monuments and scriptures discovered so far testify to the liberal donations made by the Saraks for constructing them as 'monuments of their ingenuity and piety.' Such donations indicate to what extent the Saraks accumulated wealth by their commercial activities and money-lending business. There is nothing improbable in the supposition that they were experts in mining also. However, it appears that (a) the householder Jainas maintained the tradition of the Digambara Nirgranthas and continued to worship the nude images of Tīrthaṅkaras, (b) that simultaneously with the worship of the Jinas, some Brahmanical divinities were chosen for their devotion, and (c) that

among the Brahmanical divinities Gaṇapati, Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī were preferred.

Incidentally, we may refer to the legendary wealth of the Sarāk community settled at Chandrakona in Midnapore district. The Sarāks developed a flourishing weaving industry. It is reported by Mathias Halstead, the Second of the Hooghly Factory of the East India Company, that he was the first Englishman to discover the commercial importance of Chandrakona and that the commodities from Chandrakona were despatched by the waterways. The report is dated September 18, 1660. However, the branch of the Sarāks is said to be a Hinduised community, although they are vegetarian in food habits and offer respects to the Buddha before worshipping other gods and goddesses, presumably of Puranic origin. In all parts of eastern India, the Sarāks were primarily devotees of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras, whereas the Sarāks of Chandrakona are found to be lay-worshippers of Lord Buddha. It may be suggested that the Sarāks of Chandrakona, originally Jainas, came under the influence of Buddhism and adopted the worship of Buddha.

V

The data culled from the socio-anthropological surveys and the archaeological discoveries leave little scope of doubt about the existence of the Sarāks, the 'human relics' of the Jainas, in the medieval period. The colonies of the Sarāks in Chotanagpur and Manbhum-Purulia-Bankura-Burdwan-Midnapore area are supposed to have been planted sometime between the thirteenth and sixteenth century A.D. We have to take into consideration, in this connection, both the Puranic and local traditions. While according to the tradition recorded in the *Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa* the Sarāks came to be recognised as a Hindu community by the fourteenth century A.D., the local tradition claims that the Sarāks settled in Manbhum about the beginning of the sixteenth century. Risley, Dalton and others who made surveys of the Sarāks of Bihar and Bengal in the nineteenth century collected the tradition upheld by the Sarāks themselves that they settled in Manbhum for seven generations, that is, for about more than three centuries. Again, the Jaina epigraphic records of Bengal listed by Nahar are not dated earlier than the fifteenth century.

Further, it may be reasonably held that the Jainas who lost their ground in Bihar and Bengal between the eighth and the twelfth century A.D. had shifted to the north and the west of India. During this period, the lay worshippers of the Jaina sect in North and West India mostly

belonged to the mercantile community. A very few images of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras, dated between tenth and twelfth century, have been discovered so far in eastern India, especially in Bengal. Archaeological discoveries in eastern India having bearing on the Jaina religion brought to light by the efforts of Beglar, Dalton and Mrs. Mitra, should, therefore, belong to the category of medieval monuments. Because the Saraks, representing a wealthy community, were in a position to make rich donations for construction of Jaina temples and installation of the images of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras side by side with those of some Puranic divinities of their choice, the architectural and sculptural tradition of the early period seem to have continued to the medieval times.

In medieval Bengal, Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism and Nimbarkite Vaiṣṇavism made much headway in Rāḍhā-Janapada. Besides, in the fifteenth-sixteenth century the mercantile community in Bengal stood for the cause of Vaisnavism. In Vrindāban Dāsa's *Caitanya Bhāgavata* it is stated that Nityānanda made a profound impression of Vaiṣṇava-*bhakti* on the trading class. Against this background, it would be reasonable to assume that the remnants of the Jaina lay worshippers represented influence of Vaiṣṇavism and were thus drawn into the main-stream of the socio-religious culture of Bengal. But the Saraks living in the frontiers of Bengal, such as the Manbhum-Purulia area, continued to maintain their precarious existence till the twentieth century. The Saraks still living in Purulia, Bankura and Burdwan districts of West Bengal maintain close relationship with those living in Chotanagpur.

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Being in the Minority: Medieval Jain Reactions to other Religious Groups

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I. Introduction

Medieval Jains were very much aware of the fact that they constituted a religious minority. Even when they may have dominated a small geographical area in terms of their numbers, in most cases at least in north India, Jains nonetheless dwelt well within the borders of kingdoms that were ultimately controlled by rulers who were not Jains. The few medieval kings, like Kumārapāla, who favoured Jainism and were said to have actually been converted to Jainism were widely praised in the tradition, as if in implicit acknowledgement that their liberality and devotion to Jainism constituted a rare exception indeed.[1] A far more common scenario seems to have been one is which Jain monks and lay devotees eagerly sought some accommodation with the state and the religious authorities in power, who were not Jain, in order to secure for themselves the necessary freedom to worship. Medieval story collection and biographical works are replete with accounts of Jain monks who were received at court and who obtained from a Muslim or a Hindu and even sometimes a Buddhist overlord the right to go on pilgrimages to specific holy places; at times this included the privilege of remittance of certain pilgrimage taxes. In many cases monks also secured from a non-Jain ruler the promise that he would decree a ban on killing animals on certain days, in keeping with the deep Jain belief in the necessity of abstaining from taking the life of all living beings.[2] Medieval Jain accounts of the lives of the patriarchs of the various sectarian lineages depict their monks as ever active and vigilant, working tirelessly through the channels of power, which were not Jain, in order to maintain for the community the right to continue practicing their religion and to preserve their distinctive and cultural identity.

Jain reactions to the fact that they lived in a world marked by re-

ligious plurality and one in which their own faith was not the dominant one must have been as many and as varied as the local circumstances of their lives. But one consistent Jain response seems to have been that Jains exhibited an eagerness to study and understand the various religious groups around them that was virtually unparallelled in classical and medieval India. Jain monks read and studied every major work of literature, philosophy, poetics, astrology—indeed every major contribution to knowledge written both by their co-religionists and by those outside their faith.[3] It is an irony of history that one of our best sources on early medieval Buddhist philosophy is the Jain refutations that are contained in the works of philosophers like Mallavādin and Haribhadra. Many medieval Jain philosophical texts are veritable encyclopedias of philosophy, and modern scholars have yet to mine them for the rich information that they can give us about medieval Indian philosophy and religion. In many cases they contain information about religious schools and philosophical doctrines that is not preserved elsewhere.[4]

Jain scholars not only read assiduously and wrote prodigiously in every branch of learning. They also undertook massive projects of copying texts and they carefully preserved their manuscripts in extensive libraries. Many medieval Vedānta and Nyāya philosophical works have been preserved for us in such Jain libraries, which contain works on secular subjects as well.[5] Indeed it is possible to conclude that a major way in which Jains responded to the rich and diverse intellectual traditions of medieval India of which they were one part was by directly contributing to the continuation and preservation of all of those traditions through the studying and composing of texts, and by preserving equally, without regard to religious affiliation, all manner of texts in their extensive libraries.

Jain learning also made the Jains vigorous partners in public debate, and we have many accounts in the biographical and story literature of Jain monks engaging their opponents, and of course, defeating them. Many Jain philosophical texts are also debates, and give evidence of the fact that Jains did not withdraw into the seclusion of their own community but actively sought to engage other groups on intellectual issues that concerned them.

But if one response to being a minority was not to retreat from intellectual encounters and to be prepared for them through extensive study, it was surely not the only response that we can see even from our vantage point so distant in time. Jain stories also tell us that the assurance with which monks are said to have leapt into debate with Buddhists and Hindus, even with Muslims, could also be accompanied

by an anxiety about other religious groups, and a fear that being in the minority could bring social and economic pressures, and personal problems that could not always be so easily countered.

There exist a series of stories in some medieval texts that center around these anxieties. They are stories about problems that a person may encounter in preserving his or her right faith, his or her belief in Jainism and his or her exclusive practice of Jainism. The stories are about instances in which a Jain may be placed in a situation where it is temporarily necessary to capitulate to outside pressure and act in an un-Jain way. These cases are all covered by a term called *chiṇḍikā*, which I would translate as "temporary lapses". The concept of the *chiṇḍikās* is not found in most Jain texts; it seems to have been a medieval notion, and the text from which I have translated the stories, the commentary of Devacandra Sūri to the *Mūlaśuddhiprakaraṇa*, is dated 1089-1090 A.D.[6] The vast majority of medieval texts do not include these stories, nor do they seem to be aware of the concept of *chiṇḍikās*. Most often the *Śrāvakāacāras* or texts on proper behaviour for Jains discuss the meaning of *samyaktva*, "right belief", and then categorize things that enhance right belief, (the *bhūṣaṇas*, or "adornments") and things that detract from right belief (the *dūṣaṇas*, "flaws").[7]

The *chiṇḍikās* are a generous concept, for they allow that a person may experience a lapse in behaviour while maintaining that proper attitude, and they allow that such lapses do not constitute sins in any way. The *chiṇḍikās* are forgiven, and we shall see in the stories that those who commit *chiṇḍikās* nonetheless obtain their desired goal.

The stories about the *chiṇḍikās* indicate that there are six types of external pressure to which a Jain may be subject and which might give rise to a *chiṇḍikā*, a temporary lapse in religious practice. A Jain might be pressured by a king; a Jain might be pressured by his or her peers; a Jain might be subjected to physical pressure and made to worship a non-Jain deity by force. A Jain might be pressured by a god or goddess to worship that god or goddess; a Jain might find himself or herself lost in the jungle and might have to join a non-Jain group in order to come out of the jungle alive. And lastly, a Jain might feel the need to worship outside the Jain faith to please his or her parents.

Four of the six stories which illustrate these cases deal with Jain pressure to worship Hindu gods or goddesses or observe Hindu practices. They are straightforward stories that describe the difficulties that beset a Jain layman, and assure the community that the person who succumbs to these pressures to save his or her own life or to save his or her child, is not to be faulted. The other two stories describe Jain

relations with the Buddhists, and in each case the stories are very revealing of Jain attitudes towards this other non-orthodox group. For these stories are about external pressures, to be sure, but they are also about internal pressures, about the seductiveness of Buddhism, and about its potential threat to the Jains not so much because one might be forced by objective conditions to join the Buddhists, but because one might somehow want to join the Buddhists, which was regarded as even more dangerous. Below I translate the stories, and in the conclusions I offer some remarks about Jain attitudes towards non-Jains as revealed in these and other medieval stories.

II. The Six Chiṇḍikās from the Mūlaśuddhiprakaraṇa

1. The story of the merchant Kārtika as an example of temporarily straying on account of a king.

There was on the continent of Jambudvīpa, in the midst of the land known as Bhārata, a most excellent and beautiful city called Hastināgapura. There reigned king Jitaśatru, who through his own military prowess had surpassed and conquered all rival kings, and who was the source of every known virtue as the ocean is the source of every jewel. There was yet another man celebrated in that kingdom, the merchant Kārtika, who was head of a guild that numbered its members in the thousands and who was learned in the Jain doctrine, knowing all the categories such as soul and not-soul. He could not be led astray from the Jain faith even by the gods themselves, so firm in mind was he; he rejoiced in his deep religious resolve; what more can I say? He was like Abhayakumāra of old, son of King Śreṇika, the most pious of all Jains.

There was a second merchant in that city, who possessed all of the good qualities I have just enumerated, and who was great in courage. His name was Gaṅgādatta and in his wealth he was the equal of Kuvera, god of riches.

Now one day the Tīrthaṅkara Munisuvrata, to whom all the gods bowed down in reverence; who illuminated the world with the blazing radiance of his most excellent knowledge that saw all things, past, present and future; who was surrounded by a host of pious monks and who had been wandering through villages, towns, and cities, chanced to come to the city of Hastināgapura. The gods made for him a magnificent enclosed garden in which to preach, and as soon as the Tīrthaṅkara entered that enclosure, the whole area was filled with every living creature, with gods, demons, men and animals. The Blessed One began to

preach the Jain doctrine with a voice that was deep and resonant like a new rain cloud. And many fortunate souls who heard him were enlightened at once.

Now at that time the merchant Gaṅgādatta, who was repelled by the ocean of rebirth, felt a shudder of joy and excitement at seeing the Jina. That Gaṅgādatta bowed down to the Jina and addressed him with these words: "Oh Blessed One: I shall appoint my eldest son to look after my household and shall become a monk at your feet, for I desire the pleasure of Liberation." At that the Jina replied, "Do not tarry." And Gaṅgādatta went home and made his son head of the household. And then, seated in a palanquin, in a splendid procession he went back into the presence of the Jina and there at his feet he renounced the world. And that great man then performed strenuous penances, without the slightest care for his own body. He burnt off his obstructing *karmas*, and having gained that Best and Highest Knowledge he abandoned his body as a snake sloughs off a useless skin and attained that immortal place.

Now a certain Hindu ascetic chanced to come to Hastināgapura. He was emaciated and gaunt on account of the many austerities that he practiced; he followed carefully the practices ordained for ascetics and was learned in the sacred texts of his group; and he was greatly honoured by all the people. He was proud and haughty as he practised his difficult fasts, eating but once a month. Everyone in the whole city became his faithful follower and as he walked through the city people paid him homage and rushed to serve him. Only the merchant Kārtika, possessed of the pure jewel of faith in the Jain doctrine, did not bow down to the ascetic. At that the ascetic was consumed with the fire of anger that he fed with the wind of his jealousy.

One day the king, who was greatly taken with the many virtues of the new ascetic, fell at his feet and declared, "Blessed one: Grant me the favour of breaking your fast in my home:" That one denied the king his request, and the king implored him again and again. At last, consumed by jealous rage, the ascetic told the king, "If and only if the merchant Kārtika will serve me with his own hands will I eat in your home." The King, overcome by his devotion to the ascetic, agreed to this request.

The king himself rushed to the home of the merchant Kārtika and appeared there without further ado. The merchant, seeing the king, hastened to him to pay him all due respects. His hands folded in humble greeting, the merchant said to the king. "Master: How is it that you pay your servant such honor? Please tell me at once what I may do for

you." And the king took his hand and said, "You must do as I say, for I have come myself to your house to ask this of you. You must serve the Blessed One with your own hands as he breaks his fast in my house, and you must do so without any sign of displeasure." The merchant answered, "I ought not to do any such thing, but I shall agree, just so that the ascetic will take food in your house." The king was satisfied and returned to his own palace.

And when the day came for the ascetic to break his fast the king summoned the merchant and he served the ascetic with his own hands, for he had no choice in the matter. The ascetic ate from the merchant's hands and mocked him as he ate. The merchant was pained in his heart and he thought, "How lucky was the merchant Gaṅgādatta who became a monk under the Tīrthaṅkara Munisuvrata; great indeed must have been his merit. If only I too had renounced the world at the feet of the Lord of Jinas, then I would not have been made to suffer this humiliation of serving food to an ascetic from another faith."

As the merchant was given over to his sad thoughts, the ascetic finished his meal and left the palace of the king. He was mightily pleased with himself, as he accepted all the homage paid him. The merchant went back home and appointed his eldest son as head of the family. He addressed the thousand merchants of his guild with these words, "I shall renounce the world now. What is your pleasure?" They all said, "We shall follow you and become monks, too. What other refuge do we have?" "In that case, hurry. Appoint your eldest sons to head your families and come with me." As the merchant finished this last sentence a man rushed in and announced, "The Blessed Muni Suvrata, the Lord of Jinas at whose feet all the gods and kings bow down, has come to preach in our city."

The merchant felt a thrill of joy course through his body as he told the merchants of his guild, "Friends: Through my merit my greatest wish is fulfilled today." And so it was that the merchant Kārtika, having made ready all that was required for the proper ceremony, renounced the world along with the thousand merchants of his guild. He performed great austerities and when it was time and place for him to die he took his leave of the Jina and abandoned his body through the rite of voluntary renunciation of all food. He was reborn for the next to last time in the first of the divine realms, called Saudharmavataṃsika, as the lord Indra to rule over thirty-two lakhs of godly beings. When he falls from that realm he will be reborn here and he will achieve his ultimate liberation.

Now that ascetic also died and was reborn as the elephant

Airāvaṇa to serve as the new Indra's mount. The elephant was able to use his supernatural knowledge of his past births and he knew their former relationship; and so he magically made himself into two and that Indra did the same. However many the elephant made himself, Indra followed suit until the elephant gave up. And when he did, that Indra struck the elephant with his thunderbolt and the elephant resumed its normal form, at last submitting to serve as Indra's mount. This was his retribution for having once in a previous birth made that Indra serve him against his will and true religious convictions.

2. *The story of Raṅgāyaṇa as an example of temporarily straying on account of one's peer group.*

Here in the land of Bhārata there was a lovely and most excellent city named Savilāsa. There ruled King Surindadatta, who had no enemy. He had a chief queen named Ruvavaī, whose beauty was widely known throughout the realm. Now in that same city there dwelt many skilled wrestlers, proud of their knowledge, skills and bodily might, and capable of many complicated wrestling moves. They were dextrous in all kinds of combat and fights and had won many a victory in many a foreign kingdom. The chief of those able-bodied men was the wrestler named Raṅgāyaṇa. He had all of their many fine qualities that I have just enumerated and he had also pleased many a king with his skills.

It so happened that one day the monk Dharmaraha, accompanied by his many students, chanced to come to that city in the course of his monastic wanderings. The king and other noble citizens, indeed all the townspeople, went out to greet the monk. Even the headman of the wrestlers hastened to do the same. They all stood in a spot that was appropriate to their station, and their hearts full of true faith they bowed down to that monk. The monk then told them the doctrines that had been taught by the Lord of the Jinas.

"This cycle of rebirths is like a terrifying and vast ocean; its raging waters are false belief, while its depths are made of the five *kaṣāyas*, anger, pride, deceitfulness, greed and delusion. Its waters swirl with whirlpools that are wrong belief, while the many diseases are its waves. It crashes to the shores with cresting waves that are the many dangers and disasters of life, and deep within it burns the raging fire of love, as the subterranean fire is said to burn under the real ocean. The doctrine of the Jinas is a boat to rescue those who have fallen into that ocean; grab unto it that you may reach peace and safety."

Many who heard these words that the monk spoke became en-

lightened right there on the spot and renounced the world to become monks and nuns; others became pious lay believers. Raṅgāyana was among this last group. He took upon himself the five most excellent vows of the layman, not to harm living beings, not to lie, not to steal, not to violate the marriage vows and not to be attached to material possessions. And then with the rest of the company he returned to his home. When the monk Dharmaraha had completed his month's stay among them, he left to continue his wanderings elsewhere.

At the same time the king began preparations for a great festival to the Goddess Camuṇḍā. He commanded the wrestlers to participate, and they then turned to their leader and said, "You must carry the processional car of the goddess, and we will follow behind you." The leader of the wrestlers told them, "My friends! You should go without me; I am not coming today." And when they realized what was on his mind they in turn said, "If you do not go, then we shall not go either."

When he realized that the other wrestlers would not leave him be, he went with them, though he did not want to. He reached the place of the festivities and performed his dance, and the king was greatly pleased with him. He said, "Ho: Raṅgāyaṇa! Ask of me anything that you desire: "At that Raṅgāyaṇa too was pleased and said, "O Lord of the Earth: If you truly mean what you say, then may I never again be ordered to worship a God outside the Jain faith, as long as I live!" And when the king assented, saying, "So be it", Raṅgāyaṇa replied, "Great is the generosity of the king." He went back to his own dwelling and served the Jain faith without any lapse. At the end of his life he died in meditation, having voluntarily renounced all food. He was reborn for his next to last time as a glorious god in the first of the divine realms.

3. *The story of Jinadeva as an example of being physically forced to stray from the true faith.*

There is here on this continent of Jambudvīpa in the land of Bharata a village named Saṃkhavaddhana. And in that village lived the pious lay Jain Jinadeva. He was born into a family of pious Jains and was learned in the Jain doctrine which taught the various entities such as the soul and the non-soul. He was always devoted to performing all of his religious duties and was as firm and unshakable in his religious devotion as Mount Meru is solid and unmovable. He never ever, not at the insistence of anyone, did anything that was contrary to his own religion.

Now one day this Jinadeva set out for another village. En route he

ran into his own brother-in-law, Mahesaradatta, who was just as firm a believer in a false faith. They greeted each other as they should, exchanging embraces and pleasantries. Mahesaradatta then asked Jinadeva, "Brother: Where are you going?" He answered, "I am going to the city of Vasantapura to fetch my daughter." At that the other one said, "In that case, let us go together. For I, too have some business there." And so the two set off together. As they were travelling their conversation turned to religion. Mahesaradatta was silenced by Jinadeva who had studied the Jain texts thoroughly. That made Mahesaradatta furious.

As they walked on they saw a red temple on the bank of a river. As soon as he saw the temple Mahesaradatta said, "This is the great holy place, Sayambhāyayaṇa. We must go and worship the God who resides there. Here is the chance for us to purify outselves."

Jinadeva replied, "I am exhausted. I'll just rest here on the river's bank." But Mahesaradatta understood what was in his mind and thought, "I'll take him down a peg or two." And so he grabbed him by the arms and dragged him into the temple. And he seized Jinadeva by the tip of the ear and forced him to bow down to the god and the ascetics there who were not of the Jain faith. At that Jinadeva thought to himself, "What good is this life in which one must suffer such humiliations. When I get back I shall renounce the world and become a monk." And so he went to Vasantapura and got his daughter and proceeded home. Appointing his eldest son to head the family, he became a monk under a good teacher. He lived the rest of his life as a monk without committing any offense, and when he died he was reborn in the wonderful divine realm known as Sarvārthasiddha. When he falls from that realm he will be reborn as a prince in the city Khipaiṭṭha and will achieve final liberation.

4. *The story of Kulaputraka as an example of straying from the true faith on account of a god or goddess.*

There was in some village a certain young man from a good Hindu family. He came into contact with some Jain monks and became a pious Jain himself. At that he stopped worshipping the gods that he had formerly worshipped and had faith only in the Jina and in Jain monks. Furthermore, morning, noon and night he worshipped the Lord of Jinas with great fanfare, and every day he made to the Jinas offerings, bathed them, carried them around in a procession and made a great celebration for them.

His body thrilled with delight as he embraced such great feelings

of faith and devotion for the Jain doctrine; his face shone with joy like a lotus in full bloom, and he felt his every wish granted in the flowing waves of joy that swept over him.

He thought to himself, "What a lucky one am I! I have accumulated such a store of merit! "And as these words ran through his mind he made offerings of food to the Jain monks and worshipped them each day.

Now seeing him in such a state, one of the goddesses that he had formerly worshipped and who was now made to starve without his offerings, begged him to worship her as before. He did not even deign to answer her pleas. And so she said, "You will see what happens if you do not do as I have told you." He replied, "O you, whose worship is now forever over! Who would be afraid of the likes of you?"

At this the goddess was even more furious than she had already been and she seized his son who had gone out with the cows. The pious Jain looked for his son everywhere but could not find him. And he became greatly agitated.

Now that goddess took possession of an old woman. Her limbs began to tremble and, the hair on her head shook wildly. She shook her hands this way and that and struck the ground hard. And she began to speak,

> "Are you so grieved at such a little event, my friend? Just look at what terrible sorrow I can cause you. Know that I can make you suffer so that you will die before your time. Now worship me without any further ado:"

The pious Jain answered her: "Do what you wish and even more. I shall never worship you again."

When the goddess realized how determined the pious Jain was she said, "Even so, please, give me even a corner of a leaf as an offering. Do not be so stubborn."

The pious Jain knew that the request of the goddess could not be denied and he said, "In that case stand behind the image of the Jina. As I offer my worship to the Jina I will throw you a corner of a leaf." The goddess agreed and she then gave him back his son and his cows. And that man, too, having lived his life as a pious Jain layman without any lapse, when his end came was reborn in the realm of the gods.

5. *The story of Saurāṣṭra. This story is actually told in the context of samyaktvadūṣaṇa, "things that detract from the pure faith". It is*

an example of the duṣaṇa "kutīrthikapraśaṃsā", "praising ascetics who follow a false path". It figures in the present context as an example of straying from the true faith in order to survive in the forest.

There is on the continent of Jambudvīpa, in the midst of the land of Bharata, the most beautiful of kingdoms, Saurāṣṭra, nestled on the shore of the ocean. It had many villages, all neatly arranged, and in it reigned peace and prosperity, for there was no danger from the many arrogant hostile kings who had all been subdued. All of its subjects possessed whatever wealth they desired and were fine and outstanding citizens.

And in that kingdom was the town name Girinayara, built right at the foot of Mt. Ujjinta. And listen now to the qualities of that town, which was like so many different things in this world, if only you know how to turn and twist the words that I say, for the likeness lies in the town and these things all being described by the very same adjectives. The town was like the greatest of kings, for such great kings give refuge to many while the town had many houses; it was like a host of powerful enemies, for such heroic foes possess great valor while the town possessed great riches; it was like a painting, for a painting has many colors while the town had people of all stations; it was like a poor family, for a poor family always has many children while the town had many residents; it was like the ocean, for the ocean has much water while the town had many merchants; it was like a music composition, for a piece of music has many different notes while the town had many lakes; it was like a bad king, for a bad king has many lazy hangers-on while the town had many bazaars filled with wares; it was like the apocalypse, for when the world is to be destroyed the sun blazes to make an inferno, while the town was filled with heroes.

There dwelt there the pious Jain layman Jinadāsa, who understood the nine entities taught in the Jain doctrine and who spent his wealth in making gifts to those monks and nuns who were worthy of being recipients of charity and to the poor. Jinadāsa thought often about the nature of reality and the pain and vanity of the cycle of rebirths, just as these things were taught in the Jain texts, and he was known everywhere for his conduct which exemplified the virtues of the Jain layman. He never listened to the religious texts of other religions, which he knew to be false, and he rigorously observed the vows incumbent upon a Jain layman: the five *anuvrata*, not to harm living creatures, not to lie, not to steal, not to violate his marriage vows and not to be attached to

material possessions, and the four *śikṣāvratas*, which involved particular rituals. Thus he agreed at certain times to restrict his activities to a small area; to meditate and fast, and finally to make gifts to Jain monks and nuns. He scrupulously observed all these excellent religious practices, and he understood completely the true nature of worldly existence. Jinadāsa and a cloth could be described by the same word, only for the cloth the word meant that the material was made up of threads, while applied to Jinadāsa it meant that he possessed every excellent virtue. Jinadāsa also gave no opportunity for carelessness, the enemy of religious behaviour, to overcome him. He always observed the commands of the Jina and never praised an undertaking that was in any way contrary to what the Jain scriptures enjoin. He had destroyed in himself every trace of false belief and was ever eager to listen to Jain teachings; he gave comfort to creatures in need and was indeed the best of Jain laymen.

Now one day when famine struck the land and Jinadāsa found himself unable to support himself he set out for Ujjain with a caravan. Somehow along the way he was careless and lost the rest of the caravan. All of his food that he had brought along for the journey was with the caravan and he had nothing. Unable to find any other caravan to join, he joined up with a group of Buddhist monks. The Buddhist monks told him, "If you carry our provisions and our bundles we will give you something to eat." Knowing that one must sometimes stray from the true Jain path when caught in the midst of the forest, he agreed and began to carry their things. And those Buddhist monks gave him rich food, sweets and the like, for that is what they normally eat. For it has been said by those heretics,

> "A soft bed, something to drink as soon as you rise, dinner at noon and tea in the afternoon, grapes and sugar at night, and finally liberation: this is what the Buddha has taught."

Again,

> "Having eaten a tasty meal and settled into a comfortable bed in a comfortable building, the monk meditates without any discomfort."

Now once after he had eaten all this rich food he fell ill with severe indigestion and vomiting and diarrhea. He experienced the worst pain, and suffered terribly for there was no remedy for his sickness.

Knowing that he would die, he sat up straight and began to call out with the formula of praise that all Jains recite:

> "Praise to the arhats, praise to the siddhas, praise to the gaṇadharas, praise to the upādhyāyas, praise to all the sādhus.
> The arhats, siddhas and sadhus, and the doctrine proclaimed by the Omniscient ones, may these four things ever bring me peace and well being.
> These are the most noble things in all the world and I take refuge in them in word, thought and deed.
> I renounce doing harm to living beings; I renounce stealing and lying, fornicating and being attached to material possessions. I renounce attachment to my body, and in thought, word and deed, I renounce all food."

In this way, reciting the sacred words of praise and accepting upon himself the sacred rite of voluntarily renouncing all food, he abandoned his rotten body and was reborn as a god in the heaven Saudharma. Instantly he found himself in a new body, radiant and handsome, in a heavenly realm that was exceedingly bright. He rose from his couch, a thrill of joy coursing through his body as he surveyed his divine splendour. As he heard his servants shouting to him, "Victory to the king! Victory to the King!" He began to ponder, "What was it that I did in my previous existence that has resulted in my enjoying such wealth and splendour?"

And then, using his supernatural knowledge, he looked about and he saw his own body, which the Buddhist monks in keeping with their own custom had covered with red robes and shoved to one side. Now his supernatural knowledge was not quite perfected since he had just been reborn in the realm of the gods and so he mistakenly began to think, "Aha! I was a Buddhist monk in my past birth, for see how my body is covered in the red robes of the Buddhist ascetic. Clearly this teaching of the Buddhists is very powerful, for it has led me to be reborn in my present marvellous state. I must devote myself now to honoring the Buddhist monks." And with these thoughts in mind, he went to Ujjain. He greeted the Buddhist monks with the utmost respect. And every day he reached his bejewelled arm into the Buddhist monastery and fed the monks there with exquisitely prepared and delicate divine dishes. Everyone began to sing the praises of the Buddhist doctrine : "See, see! May the Buddhist doctrine be ever victorious, for it has such great powers!"

The Jain monks and nuns were in terrible distress. Just at that point the Jain monk Dharmaghoṣa in the course of his wanderings arrived in Ujjain. The Jain lay devotees all went out to pay him their respects. And after they bowed down to him they told him everything that had happened. They declared,

> "If, our lord, you allow such an insult to the Jain doctrine, then to whom shall we turn in our distress?
> Blessed One! you must do something to enhance the prestige of the Jain cause, for there is no one but yourself who is equal to this great task."

At that the monk used his extrasensory perception and he came to know who the one was who was feeding the Buddhists with divine food. He sent one of his own disciples to him and instructed him in this way: "When the Buddhist monks offer you food from his hand, you must grab that hand. First recite the sacred formula, praise to the arhats, and then say this: come to your senses, supernatural being! Come to your senses! Do not be deluded!" The disciple agreed to do exactly as he had been told and set off for the Buddhist monastery.

And the Buddhist monks, seeing the Jain monk approach, proud of their supernatural powers, went right up to him and said, "Come, come with us so that we may give you some divine food made by the gods." And the Jain monk went right to that place where the hand was serving food. And when the hand was about to give the Jain monk food at the instructions of the Buddhists, the Jain monk grabbed that hand with his own hand. He first recited the Jain formula of praise and then said, "Come to your senses, supernatural being! Come to your senses! Do not be deluded!" Now when he heard those words the supernatural being realized at last the true state of things through his own supernatural knowledge, and he knew exactly what he had been in his previous life. He confessed his wrongdoing and assuming his true form he said to the Jain monk, "I am at your service!" He let out a loud laugh and then went away to find the Jain master. And then,

A crown upon his head, his cheeks touched by the long jewelled earrings that dangled from his ears, his chest hung with necklaces and chokers and chains of gold and pearls, his soft arms gently waving, adorned with every kind of gorgeous armlet and bracelet, his fingers ruddy from the rays of the gold emanating from all the rings on them, his body covered with a diaphonous silk that was free from any trace of

dust and hung with gently tinkling bells, he touched his forehead to the ground and bowed down at the feet of the Jain monk Dharmaghoṣa. With his hands folded in reverence and held over his head, he spoke to the monk with these words, "Blessed One! Today you have shown me your great favor. Without you I would have continued to sink, deluded, into that ocean of rebirths, that terrible ocean of rebirths that is limitless and filled with the most awful sufferings." And having said these words he went to all the Jain temples and conducted great festivals there and filled with devotion he danced there in ecstacy. And he proclaimed to the world, "This doctrine that has been taught by the Lord of Jinas alone is capable of leading a person across the ocean of rebirth. It is the seed of the tree of peace. All of you, devote yourselves to this faith. What more need I say?" And in this way many people were brought to embrace the Jain faith. And that god, praising and praising the Jain teachings rose up to the heavens and reached the realm of the gods."

Let this be a lesson that one should never praise false teachings.

6. *The story of Devānanda as an example of straying from the true faith on account of one's parents.*

There is here on the continent of Jambudvīpa in the land of Bharata the city of Kosambi, ornament of the territory of the Vacchas. There dwelt the very rich merchant Dhanadatta. Now he had a daughter named Devaī, who was adorned with great beauty and with every other admirable quality. She was extremely knowledgeable in the Jain doctrine which taught the various entities such as soul and not-soul, and she was like a bee hovering over the lotus-like feet of the Jain monks. One day as she was playing ball on the rooftop she was seen by Devānanda, a son of the pious Buddhist merchant Siridatta from Pāṭṭaliputra. Now as soon as he saw her Devānanda was smitten by the arrows of the god of love and was sick at heart with longing for her. He thought to himself, "Oh, how beautiful she is! Look at how skilled she is in every art! I must make her my wife." He sent his chief servants to ask for her hand. Her father refused, on the grounds that Devānanda was not a Jain. Out of his terrible desire to possess her Devānanda then pretended to be a Jain. And in time, as he listened over and over again to the Jain teachings, he actually came to be true believer in Jainism, and his faith in Jainism became as firm and unshakable as Mount Meru is solid and unmovable.

When her father saw how he had become a faithful Jain he consented to give him his daughter. Devānanda married Devaī with great

pomp and ceremony. He then took her back to his own city. They were careful, knowing that his mother and father believed in a different faith. But as time passed and they spent their days in worshipping the Jinas, bowing to them, bathing them, carrying them in procession, making offerings to them; and in study and meditation on Jain texts; in service to Jain monks and in giving gifts to those worthy in the Jain tradition while avoiding making gifts to those who were not Jain. One day the Buddhist monks came to the parents of Devānanda and complained. "How is it that your son, although once so pious, never comes to see us any more?" Devānanda's parents told them in detail what had happened. The Buddhist monks said, "In that case send him to us just once. Afterwards we will see what happens."

Devānanda's mother and father then told him, "You must go to see the Buddhist monks, if only because we are asking you to." Devānanda knew that it might sometimes be necessary to go against his Jain beliefs at the insistence of his parents, and so he went as they had told him. He bowed to the Buddhist monks and they gave him a fruit over which they had recited a spell. Out of habit he ate the fruit, as he had often done in the past. He suddenly had a change of heart and went home a Buddhist. He commanded his servants, "Quickly prepare a feast for the Buddhist monks to be held here in my house." The servants were delighted and hastily began their preparations.

Devaī did not believe that her husband had really had a change of heart and truly abandoned his Jain faith and she went to see her own teacher. She told him all that had happened and he gave her something to counteract the Buddhist magic. She gave it to Devānanda. He was cured. He asked, "What is all this?" His servants told him, "You told us to prepare a feast for the Buddhist monks." He said, "I shall not give a thing to any religious person who is not a Jain." And Devaī explained to them all that had really transpired. Devānanda admitted that he had been made to waver in his Faith for an instant at the pleasings of his parents and he then had pure food given to all the Jain monks.

III. Conclusions

The stories of the six *chiṇḍkās* depict Jains who are forced to feed non-Jain Hindu ascetics, to worship in non-Jain temples, to participate in festivals to the Goddess Cāmuṇḍā, to worship a Hindu goddess, and lastly to act like Buddhists. It is interesting to note that with one exception, the non-Jain Hindu ascetic, these stories describe deities and patterns of worship that figure widely in medieval Jain story literature.

Non-Jain Hindu ascetics are the most prominent group in the many canonical texts, in which Mahāvīra debates with various non-Jains and defeats them.[8] They continue to appear in non-canonical texts, but the *parivrājaka*, the "generic" ascetic who is neither called a Vaiṣṇava or a Śaiva, is a less common character in the medieval story.[9]

By contrast Jain stories often describe how Jains defeat Hindu goddesses, most frequently the goddess Camuṇḍā. The major Jain objection to the worship of Camuṇḍā was to the practice of making flesh offerings to the goddess. Biographies of monks are replete with accounts of how Camuṇḍā was made to give up accepting blood offerings and how she was turned into a patron of Jainism. Stories in the didactic collections detail the terrible consequences of offering worship to a goddess in the Hindu tradition, again because it violated the Jain prohibition against taking life under any circumstance.[10]

Other well-known Hindu deities also appear in medieval stories, and Jain monks displace or defeat Hindu deities as part of their activities in furthering the cause of the Jain community. Thus we read of the monk Siddhasena, who causes a Śiva liṅga to split and an image of Pārśvanātha to appear from the liṅga; we hear of the monk Jīvadeva who is able to pacify the spirit of a dead princess, now a demi-goddess, and of many others, like the Jain lay woman whose husband is a Śaiva and who forces him to accept Jainism by showing him that Śiva is powerless to save them in adversity.[11]

In all of these cases in which Hindu gods and goddesses challenge Jains in medieval stories, their defeat is complete. These stories are ambiguous in asserting that worship of Hindu deities is repugnant to true Jains; in these stories Hindu worship, particularly of Śaiva and Śākta deities, is the very antithesis of Jain worship in that it involves a violation of the most important of all Jain doctrines, the prohibition against violence. The stories of the *chiṇḍikās* in which Hindu gods and goddesses appear are consistent with how the theme is handled in medieval story literature in general! the Jains who must resort to participating in Hindu worship do so totally unwillingly and remain convinced that it is a terrible practice.

The situation is far more complicated when we turn to the *chiṇḍikā* and other stories of Jains worshipping with Buddhists; the Jains had a particularly close relationship with Buddhists at least in the public mind, and the stories that Jains tell of their encounters with Buddhists reveal a Jain awareness of the depth of that relationship and the power that Buddhism could exert over Jain devotees. I begin with a few comments about how others saw the relationship of the Jains and

Buddhists, before I turn to Jain attitudes towards the Buddhists in Jain story literature.

Throughout classical and medieval times Jains and Buddhists had been linked closely together by all of their opponents. It is not difficult to see why orthodox Hindus might have found it convenient to attack the doctrines and religious practices of both groups in the same breath, for at least from the position of orthodox Hinduism Jains and Buddhists had much in common. Both the Jains and the Buddhists denied the authority of the Vedas and the primacy of Sanskrit as the only language in which scriptures should be written and religious doctrine should be taught. The Jains and the Buddhists were similar to each other in that they both had their own sacred texts that were written in a vernacular language and the authority of which they sought to establish on the basis of the fact that they were pronounced by an Omniscient Being. Both Jains and Buddhists vigorously opposed the central rituals of Vedic religion : the Vedic sacrifice and the Vedic *śrāddha* ceremonies, the rites in which animals were sacrificed to provide food for the deceased. Jains and Buddhists could also both speak fervently against the hierarchical structure of Brahmanical society, and against the supremacy of any one group on the basis of birth alone. The conflation of Buddhist and Jain doctrine by Hindus becomes so commonplace that by late medieval times, when the Buddhists have virtually disappeared from the scene, and the Jains do remain a significant religious group, Jains are simply called "Bauddhas", Buddhists, and yet there can be no mistake that it is the Jains who are being singled out for criticism.[12]

But if others could not distinguish Jains from Buddhists, or chose not to bother, the Jains took great pains to establish and maintain an identity for themselves that was distinct both from Hindu society and from the Buddhists as well. Story literature tells us that they had little problem distinguishing themselves from the Hindus and rejecting Hindu practices, but that remaining separate from the Buddhists was more of an issue. When we look at the stories in the *chiṇḍikās* in which Jains become involved with Buddhists, there is no doubt that the Jains not only feel the need to join with the Buddhists because of their external circumstances but they are also somehow or other positively inclined to do so. In the story of the man who joins the caravan and then dies of overeating, it is his wrong knowledge, or his delusion that leads him incorrectly to praise the Buddhist faith. The story also makes the point that many other people become Buddhists because of the wonderful food that is served in the Buddhist monastery. In the story of the Buddhist husband who marries a Jain girl, the young man does go to see the

Buddhist monks because he does not want to go against the wishes of his parents, but he begins to act like a Buddhist because he wishes to do so. And this is because the Buddhist monks have worked magic on him to bring him back into the Buddhist fold.

These are all themes that are not unique to these stories of the *chiṇḍikās*; medieval story literature has many an example of Jain lay devotee or monk who is somehow led astray by Buddhists. It is a common theme of Jain stories that Jains may be wrongly duped into becoming Buddhists, particularly because they are attracted to the lush life in a Buddhist monastery compared to the severity of life as a Jain monk. Thus in the biography of the Jain monk Ārya Khapaṭācārya we hear of the master's nephew, Bhuvana, who becomes a Buddhist and magically causes wonderful food to appear in the begging bowls of the Buddhist monks. The Jains lose many of their faithful, who are enticed by the promise of such rich delights.[13]

Buddhists countered these Jain stories with their own stories in which they justified the Buddhist monastic practices and criticized the strict regimen of the Jain ascetic. One very telling story is the *Vītaśokāvadāna* that occurs in the *Divyāvadāna*.[14] Vītaśoka, the brother of the famous king Aśoka, is persuaded by the harsh asceticism of the Jain monks that they must be the true ascetics and not the Buddhist monks who live a life of relative ease and comfort. Aśoka devises a stratagem to make him realize his mistake; he has him sentenced to death and then allows him the pleasures of being king for seven days before the sentence is to be carried out. Vītaśoka does not take pleasure in his week as king, for he becomes obsessed with his death sentence. King Aśoka finally tells him that all has been a ruse, to show him that although the Buddhist monks may live a life of comfort, they find no pleasure in that life for they are ever occupied with the thought that death pursues all mortals.[15]

Not all Jains are enticed by the delicious food available in the Buddhist monasteries. Sometimes Jains who study with Buddhists are overwhelmed by Buddhist erudition and succumb to the intellectual seduction of the Buddhist monastery. Siddhārṣi, whose strange biography is told in the *Prabhāvakacarita*, was so persuaded by the Buddhists under whom he studied that he became a Buddhist and had to be reconverted to Jainism by reading a book written by Haribhadra.[16] While no scholar accepts the historicity of this account, it clearly reveals Jain fears about the attractiveness to Jains of Buddhist doctrine, especially to the educated philosopher.

The biography of Haribhadra told in the various *prabandha* collec-

tions depicts the Buddhists in yet another vein, but still as threatening to the Jain community. They are not portrayed as great teachers who could lure Jain students and convince them to become Buddhists; rather, in those accounts the Buddhist masters are violent and aggressive individuals, who themselves feared Jain intellectual achievements and preferred to kill a Jain student who might later write a refutation of Buddhism rather than try to make of him a convert.[17] In the biographies of Haribhadra, Haribhadra's two nephews study incognito in a Buddhist monastery only to be discovered and pursued by the Buddhists and eventually killed. Virtually the same story is told of the Digambara philosopher Akalaṅka, whose writings offer us a penetrating refutation of the Buddhist philosopher Dharmakrīti.[18] It is clear from stories like these that Jains both respected Buddhists and feared them. They may well have felt compelled to study Buddhist logic firsthand, but they were also aware that such a deep acquaintance with Buddhist philosophy was not without its attendant dangers.

The second *chiṇḍikā* story introduces us to two other themes that also occur elsewhere in medieval Jain stories—intermarriage between Buddhists and Jains, and Jain fear of Buddhist "magic" that Buddhists might employ to seduce Jains into the Buddhist fold. In fact the notion that the Jains were afraid that the Buddhists could and would use black magic against them and thereby induce them to abandon Jainism and convert to Buddhism, even finds mention in a Buddhist *sūtra*, the *Upāli Paripṛcchā*. The Jain layman Upāli wishes to go to ask the Buddha some questions, but a Jain ascetic tries to stop him, for he is afraid of the Buddha's magic that might capture Upāli and make of him a Buddhist.[19] This suggests that others were aware of Jain fears of the attractiveness of Buddhism and could on occasion hold them up for ridicule. In Jain accounts like the *chiṇḍikā* story the Buddhist magic is effectively countered, for the Jains have more powerful magic; when the Buddhist is telling the story it is the Buddhists who triumph, not through magic, but through the force of their doctrine. In both variations of this common theme, we see Jains acknowledging that unlike Hinduism Buddhism could be a powerful adversary, successful through many means in attracting Jain devotees.

When we come to the motif of the Buddhist young man who converts to marry the Jain girl in the last of the *chiṇḍikā* stories, we are likewise on familiar grounds. In other medieval stories the conversion is more commonly a false one and the Buddhist (or Śaiva, in one case) husband tries to force his wife to follow his faith. The wife ultimately triumphs, by showing her husband how much more powerful Jainism

is than Buddhism.[20] In such stories of a Buddhist eager to marry a Jain girl we see how Jains and Buddhists were attracted to each other for more than intellectual reasons; Buddhists and Jains in these stories live closely together and intermarriage was one way in which Jain identity could indeed be threatened. The stories solve the problem by having the Jain prevail; inter-marriage succeeds and the partner is converted to Jainism.

These stories and the stories of the *chiṇḍikās* show medieval Jains coping in various ways with the fact that they lived in a predominantly non-Jain world. Jain responses to that world were manifold. We know from reading medieval Jain philosophy texts and literary works that one way in which Jains met the challenge of both linguistic and religious plurality was to become versatile scholars and polyglots. But the stories of the *chiṇḍikās* tell us of the other side; they speak to us directly of the fears that could surface in a minority community and they openly address the question of the pressures that might be brought to bear on a person to abandon his own community and join the majority. There are several important messages that the *chiṇḍikā* stories convey. Most obviously, Jains triumph over the challenge posed by the majority community, for they lapse but temporarily and with the exception of the stories about Buddhism, the lapses are purely a matter of external behavior. The Jains remain Jains at heart. Equally important, these stories are forgiving of such temporary lapses, and emphasize the importance of inner faith over external act: a true Jain is incapable of lapsing from his or her faith since that faith remains intact in spirit.

At the same time, there is a remarkable honesty to the stories of the *chiṇḍikās*. In these and other stories, Jains acknowledged that there was another religion that could and did prove attractive to Jain believers, and that it was necessary to be especially vigilant in order to preserve one's individual faith in Jainism and the strength of the Jain community. This religion was Buddhism, and in these stories we learn that Buddhism represented a most compelling challenge to the Jain community because of its ability to attract Jain laymen and women and Jain monks. Jains met the Buddhist challenge head on; they studied Buddhist philosophy and wrote extensive and persuasive refutations of Buddhist epistemology and ontology. They observed Buddhist rituals and read Buddhist monastic rules and challenged them openly in their *Śrāvakācara* texts. And they wrote these stories in which they acknowledged the attractiveness of Buddhism, even allowed monks and lay devotees to lapse into Buddhism, and accepted them back as proof of the true supremacy of Jainism. In these stories Jains also offered their

community an interpretation of the attractiveness of Buddhism that made it unattractive indeed: people drawn to Buddhism are portrayed as gluttons, deluded by ignorance. They are victims, subject to Buddhist magic. The stories not only tell us that Jains could find Buddhism alluring, but they explain the allure in such a way as to counter it at the same time. Finally, for whatever reasons Jains became Buddhists, even temporarily, the stories tell us that in the end they all eventually come to their senses and are welcomed back as Jains. That is surely the most important statement that these stories make of the Jain victory over Buddhism.

The dominant tone of all of the *chiṇḍika* stories is one of tolerance and acceptance of human behavior, and it is that same generosity that above all characterizes the Jain response to religious plurality in medieval India. Respect for learning, respect for other traditions, respect for the individual who may be tempted and may lapse, are together all seen as the best way in which to maintain and preserve Jain collective identity and integrity.

NOTES

1. There exist numerous biographies of Kumārapāla in Sanskrit, Prakrit and the various medieval vernaculars. None has been adequately studied to date. Georg Bühler in his *The Life of Hemacandra*, English translation by Dr. Manilal Patel, Singhi Jain Series, number 11, Santiniketan: Singhi Jaina Jñānapīṭha, 1936 discusses some of the sources. For a review of the various texts on Kumārapāla see my article, "Biographical Writing Amongst the Svetāmbara Jains in North India", forthcoming in a volume on hagiography in India edited by Winand Callewaert. I am speaking generally of the case in north India, and my sources are also northern and from the Śvetāmbara Jains.
2. Typical of these accounts of medieval Jain monks at a Muslim court are the biography of Hīravijaya, the *Hīrasaubhāgyakāvya*, which tells of the favors won for the Jains from Akbar by the Tapāgaccha monk Hīravijaya. The text is edited in the Kāvyamālā series, vol. 67, Bombay: Nirnaya Sagara Press, 1900. The Kharataragaccha monk Jinaprabhasūri in his autobiographical essay which he included in his *Vividhatīrthakalpa* described his own activities at a Muslim court. I have translated this account and discussed it in some detail in part of a book I am jointly writing with Dr. Koichi Shinohara, *Speaking of Monks*, to be published by Mosaic Press, Oakville, Ontario. That research and much of the re-

search for the present paper was supported by a grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. There are in fact many of these medieval accounts of Jain monks and their associations with Muslim rulers. The *Bhānucandragaṇicaritra* of Siddhicandra contains an autobiographical account of Siddhicandra and his association with the Muslim rulers. The text was published in the Singhi Jain series, vil. 15, Calcutta and Ahmedabad: Singhi Jain Granthamālā, 1941. Accounts of Jain monks and Hindu kings include the various biographies of Bappabhaṭṭisūri in the *Prabandhakośa* and *Prabhāvakacarita*. The *Prabandhakośa* of Rājasekharasūri has been edited by Jina Vijaya Muni in the Singhi Jain Series, Vol. 6, Santiniketan: Singhi Jaina Pīṭha, 1935 and the *Prabhāvakacarita* of Prabhacandrasūri was edited by Jina Vijaya Muni in the Singhi Jain Series, vol. 13, Ahmedabad, 1940. Stories of Jain monks and Buddhist rulers include the biographies of Mallavādin told in the various *prabandha* collections and the account of the Jain layman Ābhaḍa in the *prabandhas*. I have translated two biographies of Mallavādin in a collection of translations of traditional Jain stories that I edited under the title, *The Clever Adulteress and Other Stories*, published from Oakville, Ontario: Mosaic Press, 1990, and I have translated the story of Ābhaḍa for the article in Callewaert's volume mentioned above. That all of these accounts in which a monk or Jain layman is said to have had a close association with a non-Jain ruler may in fact reflect reality can be inferred from the few extant letters that medieval Jain monks and kings exchanged. For some of these letters written in Sanskrit and in the vernacular languages see the introduction to *Bikaner Jaina Lekha Saṃgraha* by Agarcand and Bhanwarlal Nahta, in the Śrī Abhaya Jaina Granthamālā, number 15, Calcutta: Nahta Brothers, Vīra Saṃvat 2482.

3. Medieval biographical accounts often list the many works with which Jain monks were conversant, and they also regularly describe debates on various subjects at which Jain monks defeated their opponents. For some examples see the *Kharataragacchabṛhadgurvāvali* edited by Jina Vijaya Muni in the Singhi Jain Series, vol. 42, Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1956, pp. 39-40.

4. For example Haribhadra in his *Lalitavistara* contains interesting refutations of Śaiva philosophical doctrines; to my knowledge no one has yet attempted to correlate his refutations with extant Śaiva texts. Jain texts also contain invaluable information on a group called the *saṃsāramocakas*, who are mentioned in passing in Buddhist and Hindu sources as well. I am translating the Jain refutations of the *saṃsāramocaka* doctrines from the *Śrāvakaprajñapti* with Haribhadra's commentary.

5. The Nahtas in their introduction to *Bikaner Jaina Lekha Saṃgraha* cited above have considerable information on Jain libraries.
6. The text is edited by Amritlal Mohanlal Bhojak in the Prakrit Text Society Series, number 15, Ahmedabad, 1971.
7. A convenient summary of these topics is to be found in R. Williams, *Jaina Yoga: A Survey of the Medieval Śrāvakācāras*, London Oriental Series, volume 14, London: Oxford University Press, 1963, pp. 40ff. Williams does not note the existence of the *chiṇḍikās* and another measure of the unusual nature of the category is the few entries on it in the *Abhidhānarājendrakośa*. I have not yet done sufficient work on the origins of the concept of the *chiṇḍikās* to make any definitive statements; nonetheless it is clear that at least some of the stories are rewritings of familiar material. Thus both Kārttika and Gaṅgādatta figure in the *Bhagavaīsutta*. The story of Kārttika is told in XVIII.2, while Gaṅgādatta appears in XVI.5. In neither story is there any mention of a lapse from the faith, and the concept of the *chiṇḍikās* is not found in the *Bhagavaī*.
8. An excellent summary of some of the stories from the *Viyāhapannati* (*Bhagavaī*) is to be found in Jozef Deleu, *Viyāhapannati : The Fifth Aṅga of the Jaina Canon*, Brugge : De Temple, 1970.
9. They appear for example in the *Śrāvakācāras* where their views are defeated. I mentioned above the *saṃsāramocakas*, who are considered a group of *tīrthikas*.
10. The most famous of the didactic stories is the *Yaśodharacarita*, the account of King Yaśodhara. Friedhelm Hardy has translated the version from Hariṣeṇa's *Bṛhatkathākoṣa* in *The Clever Adulteress*, cited above, pp. 118-140. Among the monks who defeat Camuṇḍā and other goddess, often the sixty-four yoginīs, may be named Jinadatta and Jinaprabhasūri. See my forthcoming essay in *Speaking of Monks*.
11. The story of Siddhasena is told in many of the *prabandhas*. I have translated several versions and discussed them in an article published in two parts, "The Biographies of Siddhasena: A Study of the Texture of Allusion and the Weaving of a Group Image", in the *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, Part I, 1989, vol. 17, pp. 329-384. Part II, vol. 18, 1990, pp. 261-304. The story of Jivadeva appears in the *Prabandhakośa*. I have translated it in *The Clever Adulteress*, pp. 149-153. The story of the Jain laywoman defeating Śiva is told in Hariṣeṇa's *Bṛhatkathākoṣa*, story 54. The text is edited by A.N. Upadhye in the Singhi Jain Series, vol.17, Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1943.
12. Thus in the *Vallabhadigvijaya* Vallabha encounters the Bauddhas whose doctrine is *ahiṃsā*, non-violence, who are followers of the

Jina, and who depart on a pilgrimage to Gauḍa Pārśvanātha at the end of the encounter: see the *Vallabhadigvijaya*, by Goswami Sri Yadunathji Maharaj, edited in the Sri Vallabha Studies Series, number 16, Baroda and Delhi: Shri Vallabha Publications, 1985, pp. 39 and 40.

13. I have translated the story in the *The Clever Adulteress*, pp. 153-156. In fact these stories about begging bowls flying through the air and divine food miraculously appearing may be seen as a Jain spoof of actual Buddhist miracle stories like the one in the *Jātaka*, vol. 1 of Fausböll's edition, p. 87, in which a monk magically conveys a bowl full of sumptuous delicacies from king Śuddhodhana to the Buddha.

14. Story number 28, pp. 272-278. I am citing the edition of P.L. Vaidya in the Buddhist Sanskrit Text Series, no. 20, Darbhanga: Mithila Institute of Post-graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning, 1959.

15. The Jain-Buddhist debate about the proper department of a monk and the proper meaning of compassion figures most obviously in stories like the *chiṇḍikā* story from the *Mūlaśuddhiprakaraṇa* that is translated here. It also was a minor concern of the medieval *Śrāvakācāras*. I have discussed some of the points each group raises in two different places, an article I am preparing on the Śrāvakap·ajñapti and an article that I wrote on the Buddhist "*Maṇicūḍāvadāna*" that was published, unfortunately with many misprints, in the festschrift for Dr. Hajime Nakamura edited by Dr. V.N. Jha, Delhi : Indian Books Center, pp. 225-239. In the article on Maṇicuḍa I sought to show that the Buddhist notion of compassion in which the Buddha was said to have given up his life and limb for the sake of some other living being was in fact closely related to the Hindu concept of sacrifice, and was repugnant to Jains for the very same reasons that the sacrifice itself was. I might add here a reference to the opening verse of the Buddhist *Pāṃsupradānāvadāna* from the *Divyavādāna*, story 26, p. 216, in which the language of sacrifice is used explicitly to describe the Buddha's giving his flesh to others. The first of the verse reads, *yo'sau svamāṃsatanubhir yajanāni kṛtvā.*

16. The text has been translated into English by Hermann Jacobi in his introduction to his edition of Siddhārṣi's *Upamitibhavaprapañcakathā*, Bibliotheca Indica, 946, Calcutta, 1899.

17. See my article on the accounts of the life of Haribhadra, "The Jain Biographies of Haribhadra : An Inquiry into the Logic of the Legends", *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, vol. 16, 1988, pp. 109-125.

18. See Nagin J. Shah, *Akalaṅka's Criticism of Dharmakīrti's*

Philosophy : A Study, L.D. Institute Series, volume 11, Ahmedabad : L.D. Institute, 1967.

19. The *Upāliparipṛcchā* in the *Majjhima Nikāya*. The Jain monks Dighatapassi objects to the layman Upāli's visiting the Buddha, for he says the Buddha has *māyā*, magic, by which he secures converts to Buddhism. I am using the Nalanda Pali edition and the passage is on p. 43.
20. There are several false conversion stories in Hariṣeṇa's *Bṛhatkathākośa*. See stories 54 and 68.

Some Prakrit Words and their Sanskrit Equivalents

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Prof. J.C. Jain is one of our pioneers of Prakrit and Jain studies and I take this opportunity of paying my homage to his contributions with a small note on some Prakrit words, presumably handed down from the age-old Deśī tradition of vocabularies but subsequently accepted or adopted even in high Sanskrit currency, sometimes in their regularised and standarised equivalents or parallels. In his great Prakrit dictionary called *Paia-sadda-Mahaṇṇavo* (abbreviated here as *PSM*), Pt. Hargovind Das Sheth[1] has carefully collected many such vocables and already suggested their etymological derivations to Sanskrit usages as well as Deśī origins. By way of a few additions to this *magnum opus*, we propose here to indicate the following marginal hotes that may perhaps shed further light on certain prevailing aspects regarding the handling of such words by old authors and lexicographers themselves and also the meanings in some cases of their grammatical formation.

Arahaṭṭa = Skt. *araghaṭṭa*. Also Pkt *rahaṭṭa* = (Hindi, *rahaṭa*). Kṣīrasvāmī on *Amarakośa* (= *AK.*) 3.5.18, *araghaṭṭo mahākupaḥ*; this meaning arrived at presumably from the fact that an *araghaṭṭa* was used for a big well. It was, perhaps, named from the use of a contrivance "having pitchers as if making its spoke-like features."

Kaṅdala = *Kapāla* or skull. It is frequently used in Skt Tantric texts with this very meaning. Sheth takes it to be Deśī, after *Deśīnāmamāla*, 2.4. But see, *Kam* = head + *dala* = half ; thus a half of the head, skull; skull-pot. Also *Medinī* 28.69, *Kaṅdala trisu Kapāle*; Kṣemarāja on *Netra Tantra*, 11.7.

Kaucehu = a ladle, spoon - (*PSM*) See *Kalpadrukośa* (Baroda, 1928). p. 145, *darvirdarvī kaṅvirapi dāruhastaḥ kaucchaka.*

Kacchoṭi - the loin-cloth; also *kacchaṭṭi, kacchuṭiya*. But see Kṣīrasvāmī on *AK*. 3.3.129, *Kakṣāpaṭe'pi kaupīnam* cf. Hindi, *Kachauṭā, kachuṭī*.

Kaṭṭoraga = a cup (Hindi, *Katorā*). But see *AK*. 2.6.69,

Śīrosthani karoṭi ; the above meaning from a usage similar to *kapāla*. Also Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* (=*BHSD*), *karoṭa*, *karoṭaka*, a cup, vessel; *PSM*,. *Karodiyā*, *karoḍī*; Durgāsiṃha, *Liṅgānuśāna* 54, *karotaṃ bhajanam*. However, Apte's *SED*[2] has both *Kaṭoram* = an earthern vessel; *Kaṭorā* = a shallow cup. They are evidently adopted Skt forms from Pkt or Deśī.

Kavisra [Kabika] = bridle (*PSM*). But also see *Kaviya* in Kṣīrasvāmī trans. *AK*. 3.5.35, *Kaviyamaśvamukhalandhanam*, Durgā, *Liṅgāunśāsana* 4.68 *Kavisā* = a kind of boots reaching up to the half-knees. See *Khapusā* (PSM). The *Pratiṣṭhālekṣaṇasārasamuccaya* (=PLSS) uses *Kūptaṣā* in this sense at 6.260; also *Kupusī* 6.280.

Kasāra, de. Kaṃśāra [Deśi] = *Kasāra*, a kind of sweetmeat (*PSM*.) Sheth also gives the entry, *Kāsāra* = *Kaṅsāra*. See *Ācāradinakara* (Bombay, 1922-3, pp. 231, 232, etc. which uses *kāsāra* in this sense.

Kukkī [Deśī] = bitch. But see *Kukkura* (f. Kukkurī), as a back formation in Skt; *Medinī* 27.137.

Kuhiṇi [Deśī] = *Kūrpar*, the middle position of the hand. (*PSM*) See its accepted Skt forms, *Kaphaṇi*, *Kaphoṇi*, *Kaphoṇī* = the elbow (Apte). Vedic *Kaphoḍa* (*Atharvaveda* 10.2.4)

Kūrapioḍ [Deśī] = A kind of eating, a kind of food (*PSM*.) But it seems to be from Skt. *Kūrapṛthuka* = fried grains of rice, *kūra* = food, boiled rice - (Apte) + pṛthuka = parched and flattened (grain) - *AK*. 2.2.48; 3.3.3.) *Kura* was long accepted in Skt.[3]

Koṇa = *vīṇāvādanadaṇḍa*. The rudder for playing on *vīṇā*. Sheth takes it to be Deśī. See Apte, *S.V.*

Khaḍakkā, *Khaḍakkī* = window, small door. See Kṣīrasvāmī on *AK*. 2.2.14, *Khaḍakkikākhyām*. Skt Śilpa works also use the word.

Khapusā = see *kavisā* above.

Khallā [Deśī] = *Carma* - (*PSM*). Also *khallaya*, *khallaga*. But see *Medinī* 28.12, *Khallo Vastraprabhede syād garte carmaṇi cātake* Hindi, *Khāl*.

Khoḍ = *Khañja*, lame - (*PSM*). See *AK*. 2.6.49 *Khoḍe Khañja*.

Gaṅḍīrī [Deśī] = *gaṇḍerī*, the joint of sugarcane. But see Kṣīrasvāmi on *A.K*. 1.9.22, *gaṇḍvo granthayaḥ* :, etc; also on 2.8.85, *goṇḍīḥ parvāṇi*

Gaṅtha = *dhana*, money (*PSM*). But see Skt. *gratha* for this meaning; Ṛgveda 7.6.3, *grārthan*.4

Gaḍḍarigā, *gaḍḍariyā*, *gaḍḍarī* [Deśī] = *bheḍī*, *meṣī*, ewe (*PSM*). See Monnier-Williams *Skt-Eng. Dict.*, *gaḍḍārikā* = ewe ; Apte, Vol. II, gives *gaḍḍarikā*.

Guṅcha [Deśī] beard, moustache- (*PSM*.) Cf. Skt *gucchaka* = a

bunch of hair.

Govara [Deśī] = *gobar gomaya* cow-dung (*PSM*). But see *goviṭ* (go+viṣ) < *gobiḍa* < *gobar*.

Caṁhuliyā [Deśī] = *cuṭkī* (*PSM*). See Skt *Choṭikā* (Apte), in the same sense. Also *PSM*. entry, *cappuḍiyā, cappuḍī* [*cappuṭīkā*]

Cokkha [Deśī] = *cokhā, śuddha, suci, pavitra*, pure (*PSM*_. see Skt *Caukṣa* = pure, clean ; pleasant, agreeable, lovely - (Apte).5 •

Coṭṭi [Deśī] = *cotī*, *śīkhā*, tuft of hair - (*PSM*). But cf. Skt. cuḍā.

Chaga [Deśī]= *purīṣa*, excreta - (*PSM*) It should be derived from Skt *Sakṛt*.

Chikka [Deśī] = *kṣuta, chīṁk* - (*PSM*) But see *kṣut* (*AK*.2.6.52) + *kṛta* = *Kṣutkṛta*.

Chihaṁda'a [Deśī] = sweets made of curd, *dedhisar*; Gujarati *sikhand* (*PSM*) Sanskritised as *śrīkhaṇḍa*.

Ḍahar [Deśī] = *śīśu, bālak*, child (*PSM*) But see Skt *dahara* for similar meaning (Apte.)

Ḍor [Deśī] = *ḍora, guṇa*, rope (*PSM*) See Skt *dora* = a rope, Apte.[6]

Dhaṁk [Deśī] = *kāka, vāyasa*, (*PSM*) It should be derived from Skt. *dhvāṃkṣa*.

Ṇadiṇī [Deśī] = *gaja, gaiyā, gāya* (*PSM*) But cf. well-known name of mythical cow Naṁdinī.

Ṇatthā [Deśī] = *nāsā-rajju, nāthā yā nāth* - (*PSM*) But see Kṣīrasvāmī on *AK*. 2.9.63, *n āsāya nastaḥ* .. *Nastaḥ kriyate sma nastitaḥ*.

Talahaṭṭiyā - *PSM*. takes it to be Deśī; but see *talaghaṭṭika* for the low land at the foot of a hill. Skt *ghaṭṭa* = *ghāṭ* (Hindi); a landing place.

Davar = *ḍor* = *dor*

Dāḍhiyā [Deśī] = *dāḍhī*, beard, *śmaśru* - (*PSM*) See Apte - *dāḍhikā* The beard; *Manusmṛti* 8.283 (Kulluka *śmaśru*) .

Dhaggīkaya [Deśī] = *jalāyā huā, atyanta pradipita*, illumined (*PSM*). But it should be connected with Skt *dagdhīkṛta*.

Nāitta = *ṇāitta* [Deśī] = *jahāj dvārā vyāpār karnevāla saudāgar*, maritime trader (*PSM*) But see Skt *nauvit, nauvitta, nauvittaka*, Sandesara and Thaker, *Lexicographical Studies in Jaina Sanskrit*, Baroda, 1962, pp. 22, 72, 155, etc.7

Paḍḍaya, paḍḍiya [Deśī] = *bhains, pāḍa*, buffalo, etc, (*PSM*) See Jain Skt *paḍḍaka, paḍḍakarūpa* Sandesara & Thaker, *op.cit.*, p. 24. Also see *piṇḍāraḥ kṣapaṇe gope mahiṣī rakṣake drume*. *Medinī* 27.185.

Parākhī = (like) an outsider, a stranger; Sandesara & Thaker,

op.cit., 158. But this word may be concerned with Skt *parākṣī* = having one's eyes turned to the other side or towards another person. The last meaning suits the passages cited by Sandesara from the *Purātanapra bandhasaṅgraha*.

Poliā [Deśī] *paulikā*] = *Khādyaviśeṣa* , a kind of food (*PSM*) See *AK* 2.9.47, *āpakvam paulih*, Bengali *puli*.

Phalahī [Deśī] = *Kārpāsa* (*PSM*) But see *AK* 2.6. 111, *phālaṃ tu kārpāsaṃ bādaram ca tat*.

Baḍa [Deśī] = *baḍā*, great (*PSM*). See *baḍḍa* below.

Bappa [Deśī] = *bāp* father (*PSM*). The word should be derived from Skt *Vaptṛ Vaptā* = the sower (of seed of a child); father, procreator - (Apte). Also see *Medini* 16.53, *Vaptā tu janake*. cp. *Medinī* 17.82 *vaprastāte*.

Babbarī [Deśī] = *keśa-racanā*, hair-dressing (*PSM*). See in Apte, *barbarikam*, "Curly hair; a mode of wearing the hair". Also, *Haimaliṅgānuśāna* (Bombay, 1940), p. 162, *barbaraḥ keśacakrale* and gloss on it, *keśacakrale iti keśānāṃ cakrākṛtiṃ lāti keśecakralaḥ keśavinyāsa tatra*.

Balānaya = Jaina Skt, *balānaka*; Sandesara & Thakar, *op.cit.*, pp. 28, 135,170, " the pinnacle or ornamental top on the gate".[8]

Bahī = (Hindi) an account book. See *bahikā*, *bahī* ; Sandesara & Thaker, *op.cit.*, p. 91, 199; also 151.

Bohāri [Deśī] = *buharī*, *saṃmārjani*, *jhāḍu*, broom (*PSM*). But see Skt *vyavahārikā*; *Medini* 1.232, *vyavahārikā syāllokayātrā saṃmārjanīdaṅgude*

Bhaojjā [Deśī] = *bhaujāi*, brother's wife (*PSM*). But see Skt *bhrātṛjāyā*.

Bhelaya, *Bhelī* [Deśī] = *beḍā uḍupa*, *nankā* boat (*PSM*). But see Skt *bhela*, *Vaijjayantīkośa*, *uḍupam tu plavo bhela*; *Medinī*, *bhelaḥ plave* (28.43).

Māḍa = (Hindi) the scum of boiled rice. Skt. *maṇḍa*, *AK*. 2.9.49, *maṇḍe bhantra samudrameva*.

Māḍhiya [māṭhita] = *sannāha*. *yukta varmita*. *Māḍhī* [*māṭhī*] *Kavaca*, *Varma*, *Varutar* (*PSM*). But also see Kṣīrasvāmī on *AK*. 3.5.8. *māḍhirnāma deśaḥ kavacam ca*.

Laddī [Deśī] = excreta of elephants and other ; in Gujarātī *līd* (*PSM*) Also Hindi, *līd*, *lēd* See Skt *laṇḍam* excrement, ordure - (Apte).

Lāmaṃjaya [Deśī] = A curtain of grass, *osīra-tṛṇa*, *khasa*, *gāndara* (*PSM*) But see *lamajjaka AK*. 2.4.65

Loṭā (Hindi) = a vessel with rounded face. See *latva* is *Vaijayantī - Kośa* ; *Kaṭāhaḥ karparo laṭvaḥ*

Lohilla [Deśī, *lobhit*] *lampaṭa, lubdha*, profligate, greedy. However see *AK* 3.1.37, *lohaleḥ syād sphutavāggartha vēdī kadvadah.* cf. Hindi, Bhojpuri *lohāḍā, loheḍā.*

Vaḍḍa [Deśī] = *baḍā, mahān* (*PSM*) But see *AK*. 3.1.61, *Vaḍoruvipulaṃ*. Presumably it is a back formation in Skt. from Pkt *Vaḍḍa*, which may be connected with Skt *Vardhita, vṛddha.*

Hakka - Sandesara and Thakaer, *op.cit.*, p. 229, giving several meanings of different usages. But the third one," [3] to scold with a loud cry," should be better connected with Skt *dhikkṛ*. Also see Pkt *hakka* (*PSM*).

Haṃsala, hāṃsala [Deśī] = a form of ornament (Hindi, *haṃsulī* = an ornament for the neck. We should connect these forms with Skt. *aṃsa* the shoulder *Aṃsala* = an ornament adorning about the shoulders.

NOTES

1. Ist edn., Calcutta 1928 ; 2nd edn., Prakrit Text Society, Varanasi, 1963.
2. V.S. Apte's *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, editors, P.K. Gode and C.G. Karve, Vols. I-III, Poona, 1957-59,
3. See V.S. Agrawala, *Caturbhāṇī*, Bombay, 1960, p. 151, n.5.
4. See V.S. Agrawala, *Padamāvata*, Text & Commentary, 2nd ed,. Chirgaon, VS. 2018, p. 518.
5. See *Caturbhāṇī*, pp. 21. 23, 163, 165; etc. Further see *Medinī* 31.12,
6. See *dora* in compound *dorakaupīna, Śivamahāpurāṇa* VI. 18.38.
7. Further see, V.S. Agrawala, "Naitta in *Apabhraṁśa* literature," *J. Oriental Institute*, Baroda, V, pp. 103-04.
8. See P.K. Acharya, *An Encyclopaedia of Hindu Architecture*, London, 1946, p. 366 ; P.O. Somapura, ed., *Kṣīrārṇava*, Palitana, 1967, pp. 37, 230, etc.

Spiritual Hierarchy in Jainism

Pranabananda Jash

The religious system preached by Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra the twenty-third and twenty-fourth Tīrthaṅkaras, lays adequate emphasis on practising extreme asceticism. In fact, the two major heretical monastic orders - Buddhist and Jaina— were, needless to say, inspired by and modelled after that of the Brahmanical Sannyāsins; and hence these orders have a close affinity.[1] Right from the time of entering the monastic fold, the Jaina monk had to take the five great vows of Ahiṃsā, Sunṛta, Asteya, Brahmacarya and Aparigraha. These five vows, when compared to the eight precepts (Aṣṭāṅga-mārga) of the Buddhists, show a striking resemblance, suggesting that one borrowed from the other. But the reason of close resemblance between the two is possibly due to their being adopted from the five vows of the Brāhmaṇa Sannyāsins.[2]

While dealing with the rules of the Jaina monks laid down by the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras it may be noted that they, like the Buddhists, also depended on begging, possessed meagre material belongings, practised non-violence and truth, observed Brahmacarya and Asteya, abstained from music, intoxicants, high beds, garlands and eating at forbidden hours. The striking difference between the two orders was that while the Buddhists system stressed on following a middle course (*majjhimapaṭipadā*), the Jaina monks stood for extreme austere practices.

In order to attain spiritual realisation, the Jaina ascetics followed and practised different types of austerities during their ascetic lives. And in terms of spiritual evolution they attained various stages before the ultimate attainment of mokṣa. These are the stages of the Ācārya, Upādhyāya, Sādhu, Tīrthaṅkara or Arahanta and the Siddha. These five grades together with the primary stage of the Muni, are known as the six fold monastic order of Jainism. The Jaina texts[3] explain the nature of various stages of the spiritual hierarchy. Of course, the last five stages are 'more developed' than the stage of Muni which is also deemed to be a primary state of asceticism. But this stage is more

advanced and developed than that of the Śrāvaka or the householder of the Jaina faith.

Jainism consider that the true road to deliverance lies in right knowledge (*samyag-jñāna*), right faith (*samyag-darśana*) and right conduct (*samyag-carita*), i.e. the famous *tri-ratna*, 'the three jewels' of Jainism. It also lays much emphasis on renunciation.[4] It maintains that renunciation is not physical merely, but is primarily mental. Hence the preparation to lead an ultimately spiritual life begins early in life. This is responsible for the twofold classification of duties - the Śrāvaka-dharma (the house-holder's duties) and the Muni-dharma (the duties of the ascetic). Thus the pragmatism of Jainism consists in prescribing separate rules of conduct for a layman and an ascetic.

Our purpose is to indicate that the stage of Muni is considered to be more advanced than that of the ordinary follower of the faith, that is, the Śrāvaka. It is to be noted that concession is allowed to the Śrāvaka in the matter of observing the various virtues. In the case of the Muni the five virtues of Satya, Ahiṃsā, Asteya, Brahmacarya and Aparigraha are insisted on to be followed very strictly. No laxity is permitted in the case of the Muni who played a vital role in the development of the faith in and outside the Jaina organisation.

After completing the practice of five Anuvratas, three Guṇavratas, four Śikṣāvratas and eleven *pratimās*, a householder seeks permission from his relatives to renounce completely mundane affairs and become a Jaina monk. Thereafter worshipping the *pañca-parameṣṭhins*, viz., Arahanta, Siddha, Ācārya, Upādhyāya and Sādhu,[5] he requests the Gaṇin to admit him into his order. Being accepted by the Gaṇin, he pulls out his hair and becomes a naked ascetic, according to the Digambara tradition. An illuminating definition of Jaina Śramaṇa is to be found in the *Pravacanasāra* of Kundakunda and the *Mūlācāra* of Vaṭṭakera which may be regarded as the practical manual for a novice Digambara-Jaina willing to embrace asceticism. The statement of the *Pravacanasāra* runs thus:

> He is a Śramaṇa who has no desires in this world and no attachment for the next, whose diet and touring are proper and who is free from passions. He advises that an ideal Śramaṇa, if he desires for release from misery, should always live with an ascetic of merits or possessing more merits.[6]

In terms of spiritual hierarchy, the following five stages, besides the Muni, are successively higher and more developed:

Ācārya: The *Ācārya* is the teacher (*guru*) in the spiritual sense of the term. He is described as the head of a *gaṇa*, vastly learned, well-disciplined and master of fivefold *ācāra*, *jñāna*, *darśana*, *cāritra*, *tapa* and *vīrya*. Hence he is respected by all.[7] He enjoys the privilege of initiating pupils (known as *seha*, *antevāsī*, *samanera*) into the spiritual path. The Ācāryas may be classified into the following four classes:

i) one initiated by a particular Ācārya but not confirmed by him;
ii) one confirmed by an Ācārya but not initiated by the same Ācārya;
iii) one who has been initiated as well as confirmed by the same Ācārya; and
vi) one who has become the disciple of a particular Ācārya exclusively for religious instructions (*dhammantevāsī*).[8]

It is to be noted here that Jainism accepts the Brahmanical view that an *Ācārya* is essential for initiation. The *Vyavahāra* refers to four more *Ācāryas* who were responsible to guide monks and nuns in daily duties.[9] The duty of the *Acārya*, accordingly, is to guide moral and spiritual conduct of his pupils. The Ācāryas are also expected to possess a thorough knowledge of the Jaina scriptures as well as a knowledge of the various other religions. It is also stated that they should have at least eight years experience of monkhood.[10]

Upādhyāya: He is empowered to deliver lectures to a group of monks on various spiritual matters.[11] Naturally, he is expected to have a sound knowledge of the various scriptures on which he discourses. He is expected to have at least three years experience as a monk and with perfect knowledge of the rules of the monastic conduct.[12] He was so called because he was approached by the monks for instruction in sacred texts.[13] The *Āvaśyaka-nirukti*[14] further explains the Upādhyāya (Ujjha) as one who took to meditation with full consciousness and the term *uvājjhāya* as one who has destroyed *karman* by conscious meditation. "All teaching and studying is a kind of austerity; if a man studies intentionally to gain merit, he will get merit (*puṇya*); if, however, he studies and teaches to gain and import knowledge with no thought of acquiring merit, he will destroy certain *karma* (*nirjarā*)."[15]

Sādhu: According to Mrs. Stevenson "he is just an ordinary ascetic or Sādhu; if he is a Digambara, he will wear no clothes and live in the forest, lost to the world and immersed in meditation, eating only once a day and tearing out his hair as it grows...If he be a Śvetāmbara

or a Sthānakavāsī, he will move from Apasaro to Apasaro clad in white clothes".[16] He is an ascetic who observes scrupulously the various codes of conduct prescribed for attaining spirituality in life. He will have to practise the various virtues, mentioned in the Jaina canons in his own individual life showing that before he becomes eligible to deal with spiritual matters, he should himself have undergone the prescribed course of ethical life which offers a real insight into the nature of spiritual life.

Tīrthaṅkara or *Arhanta*: This is undoubtedly an advance stage of spiritual life of the Jaina monks. In this state of life traces of anger, pride, deceit, greed, attachment, hatred and ignorance are not perceivable in the monk. "The Being", as Mrs. Stevenson observes, "has attained perfection of speech, perfection of worship, and absolute security, for no danger or disease can ever come where he is".[17] The mere sight of an Arahanta is considered to have the potentiality to convert hundreds of people to the path of spirituality and to destroy sceptical and perverse attitude towards the life. The presence of the Arahanta, thus, is always enlightening.

Of the seven categories of Arahantas, viz., the Pañcakalyāṇadhāri, the Tinakalyāṇadhārī, the Dokalyāṇadhārī, the Sāmanyakevalī, the Sātiśayakevalī, the Upasargakevalī and the Antakṛtakevalī, the first three are the Tīrthaṅkara type, while the remaining, the non-Tīrthaṅkara type. With regard to the spiritual experience, there is no difference at all. The distinction lies in the fact that the former is capable of preaching and professing religious doctrines in order to guide the mundane souls immersed in the life of illusion (his sermons are properly worded by the Gaṇadharas), while the latter is not permitted to preach religious faith or principles, but enjoys the sublimity of mystical experience.[18]

The word Tīrthaṅkara is explained differently, but it is generally believed that it means "one who finds a ford (*tīrtha*) through this world (*saṃsāra*) to *mokṣa*, or one who attains a landing on the other side. But, according to Jaina tradition, it denotes one who forms four communities (*tīrtha*) of monks and nuns and male and female lay-followers. When a new Tīrthaṅkara arises, the followers of the preceding one follow him, as the followers of Pārśvanātha followed Mahāvīra".[19] The number of Tīrthaṅkaras for every age is believed to be only twenty-four. It is to be noted that a spiritual aspirant of non-Tīrthaṅkara group can attain the next higher stage of the Siddha by dint of his spiritual attainment which can be had only through pure meditation or contemplation.[20] He is described as an ideal saint, a *paramātman* or god whom the Jainas assign

an enormous list of attributes.[21]

Siddha: This is the last stage or the final goal of a Jaina ascetic. In this stage the ascetic is free from *karman* altogether, he is completely independent of all external objects. The Siddha has the following characteristics: absolute knowledge, faith, insight, righteousness, and prowess. He has also the power of becoming minute and colossal at will, and of moving anywhere unhindered; he is unaffected by anything, so that neither death, disease, rebirth, nor sorrow can any longer touch him. He is also without a body; and this is the reason why the Jainas feel they can never pray to a Siddha. He is described as not being the product of anything nor producing anything.[22] Neither an Arahanta nor a Siddha has on him the responsibility of creating, supporting or destroying the world. The aspirant receives no boons, no favours and no curses from him by way of gifts from the divinity. The aspiring souls pray to him, worship him and meditate on him as an example, as a model, as an ideal that they too might reach the same condition.[23]

The acquisition of Siddhahood is synonymous with attaining Nirvāṇa[24] where there is no question of his experiencing either pleasure or pain, or any types of *karman*. His is a state of infinite, pure and boundless bliss.[25] It is nicely described in the Jaina text: "All sounds recoil thence where speculation has no room, nor does the mind penetrate there. The liberated is without body, without resurrection, without contact of matter; he is not feminine, nor masculine, nor neuter; he perceives, he knows, but there is no analogy; its assence is without form; there is no condition of the unconditioned".[26]

NOTES

1. Pranabananda Jash, *Some Aspects of Jainism in Eastern India*, New Delhi, 1889.
2. Jacobi, *Sacred Book of the East*, XXII, Introduction; J.C. Jain, *Life in Ancient India as Depicted in the Jain Canons*, Bombay, 1942.
3. In the Jaina texts like the *Ṭhānāṅga*, the *Vyavahāra* and the *Āvaśyaka-niryukti* are profusely recorded these stages of spiritual hierarchy.
4. The *Ṭhānāṅga* (p. 473-b) speaks of the following reasons to be the causes for renunciation:
    - i. Chanda (out of free will);
    - ii. Roṣa (out of anger);
    - iii. Parijunna (out of poverty);

iv. Suvina (by dream);
v. Padissuta (for a vow);
vi. Saranita (due to sudden reminiscence of previous birth);
vii. Roginita (for illness);
viii. Anadhita (due to humiliation by somebody);
ix. Devasannatti (due to enlightenment by the god);
x. Vacchanubandhita (renunciation due to affection for one's son who had become monk).

Elsewhere (p. 128-b and 276-ab) it is stated that one (*tuyavaitta*) became monk to avoid troubles, and the other by conversion (*puyavaitta*), some by mutual agreement (*sangarapavvajja*) or by instruction (*akkhatapavvajja*). It is intersting and significant to note that some became monks to maintain themselves (*ihaloga*), or to get good food, or to get rid of debts (*moyavaitte*), etc. Similarly, the *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra* (XVI) mentions that people renounced the world whenever they became tired of this worldly life (*saṃsāra-bhayodvigna*). Sometimes the wife and parent followed the husband and son respectively.

The *Bhagavatī-sūtra* (25.7.803) refers to two kinds of *vyutsarga* (renunciation):

i. *Dravya-vyutsarga*, i.e. renunciation of physical objects; and
ii. *Bhava-vyutsarga*, i.e. renunctiation of mental states.
The first one is again subdivided into four, viz., renunciation of *gaṇa* (society), of body of articles and of food and drink. The second category is of three kinds, namely, renunciation of four passions, of four forms of life and of eight *karma-prakṛits*.

5. *Pravacanasāra*, pp, 44ff.
6. *Ibid.*, III, 26; 70.
7. *Ācārāṅga, Comm.* pp. 4-5; *Avasyaka-niryukti*, V. 998.
8. *Ṭhāṇāṅga*, pp. 239-b, 240-a.
9. *Vyavahāra*, 10, 11-12.
10. *Ibid.* 3, 7.
11. *Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, pp, 113, 146.
12. *Vyavahāra*, 3, 3-4.
13. *Thāṇāṅga Comm.*, p. 140-a; *Āvaśyaka-niryukti*, v. 1001.
14. *Āvaśyaka-niryukti*, vv. 1002-1003.
15. Mrs. S. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 240.
In Pali, the term *nirjarā* or *nirjara* is found mentioned primarily to mean - "causing to cease", "to cause to decay", "to bring to naught", etc. The *Nijjara-sutta* of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* enumerates ten things (*dasa vitthuni*) which are brought to naught by the cultivation of their oposites (*Aṅguttara-nikāya*; Vol. V. p. 215, PTS. edition). cf. *Samma-diṭṭhikassa micchā-diṭṭhi nijjinna*;

samma-samkappassa micchā-samkappo nijjinno; etc., i.e. 'the false vision' is nullified by 'the right vision' and the 'improper intention' by the 'proper intention'.

16. Mrs. S. Stevenson, *op.cit.*, p. 239.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 241.
18. K.C. Sogani, *Ethical Doctrines in Jainism*, Sholapur, 1967, p. 199.
19. Mrs. S. Stevenson, *op.cit.*, p. 241; Pranabananda Jash, 'Pilgrimage: An Avenue For Salvation', in the *Falhari Baba Commoemoration Volume*, Pilgrimage Studies, eds. Lallanji Gopal and D.P. Dubey, Allahabad, 1990, pp. 5-16.
20. K.C. Sogani, *op.cit.*, p. 203.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 242.
22. *Pañcāstikāya*, 36.
23. *Ibid.*, cited in K.C. Sogani, op.cit., p. 199.

    Umāsvāti or Umāsvāmī, a disciple of the great *ācārya* Kundakunda of the first century A.D. , in his *Tattvārthādhigama-sutra*, 'the fountain-head of Jain Philosophy' (J.N. Farquhar *Outlines of Religious Literature in India*, p. 136 expounded Jaina religious and philosophical thought of the contemporary age. According to his *Tattvārtha-sūtra*, 29, *kevalajñāna* is the full perfect knowledge which is the soul's characteristic in its pure and undefiled condition. It characterises the soul when entirely liberated from the bondage of matter. On its upward path, the liberated soul is said to rise upward and upward like a balloon (H. Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, ed. J. Campbell, p. 258). It rises and rises and ever rises. The psychic point or the life monad, called the soul, continuously expands in ever widening circles until it reaches infinite knowledge, power and bliss.
24. *Niyamasāra*, 183.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 178-81.
26. *Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, I, 5, 6, 3-4.

The Historical Traditions in Jain Purāṇas–A Study of their Nature and Purpose

Y.B. Singh

Realisation of the truth that the present can be made better and the future more fruitful only through the proper understanding of past deeds is perhaps the most significant achievement of mankind. It is this understanding which enables one generation to pass on its accumulated knowledge to the succeeding ones. And, it is this quality because of which the mankind has emerged as the master of the world after forcing other species to become subservient to it.[1] The lesson- taking capacity of the mankind thus infuses in it a sense of history automatically. The known traces of past civilizations provide proofs in plenty to prove the validity of the statement. Another quality of mankind is that it is selective by nature. This quality is most apparent in the process through which important events are being remembered and recorded by a generation. Thus the succeeding generation gets only that which was important to the preceding ones. The succeeding generation, too, goes through the process of selection. It takes from the proceeding one only that which it finds fruitful for its development.[2] The civilizations which have taken the past with this appropriate perspective have survived and developed and, the civilizations which have failed in this venture have been forced to remain dependent on the developed ones. This suggests that the recording of events as well as their rendering in the succeeding periods is done in accordance with their context perceived in relation to the needs of the periods. It is this proclivity because of which we find different concepts of history in different civilizations.[3]

Yet, in our times the parameter to determine the nature of the sense of history of a people is that concept of history which was evolved in post-renaissance Western Europe by taking the ideals of 'historia' of Herodotus.[4] It was this concept of history which was declared scientific. And, as a result of this some scholars came forward with the opinion that ideas of history and historical literature were not

given due consideration by the scholars of ancient India.[5] Such scholars further say that it is this fact because of which except the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* India has no other text which can be classed as history.[6] It has also been asserted by such scholars that history writing became popular in Kashmir alone because it was this part of India which had close contacts with Islamic, Central Asian and Chinese people who were in possession of 'a stronger historical sense.[7] Such theories have, however, been ably controverted by pioneers like Surendra Nath Banerji, R.C. Majumdar and U.N. Ghoshal.[8] The Vedic and Puranic *Vaṁśāvalis* apart we have cyclic concept of history even in the writings of Kālidāsa.[9] Moreover, as stated above, absence of a proper sense of history among the Indians is indicated only by those who judge the things through a parameter which was fixed in an arbitrary manner only by keeping in mind the thought process of the post-renaissance Western Europe.[10] The resultant bias is clear from the conclusions of Sir M.A. Stein, the editor and annotator of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhana. He cities Alberuni's statement which says that "Unfortunately the Hindus do not pay much attention to the historical order of things, they are very careless in relating the chronological succession of their kings, and when they are pressed for information and are at a loss, not knowing what to say, they invariably take to tale-telling," to show that the Hindus has no proper sense of reckoning, etc.[11] But he does not take into consideration that portion of Alberuni's description which describes the Indian calendars, the idea of different *Yugas* and other achievements of Indians in relation to astronomy.[12] A rational look at such things will certainly present a different picture. No one can say that the Indians were careless in matters related to dates after having the details about the various calendars.[13] What appears more logical is that either Alberuni failed to meet a competent person or due to the problem of language it was not possible for him to understand the significance of the various eras. He was perhaps also confused due to the existence of many eras.[14]

Similarly, when an objective approach is made to understand the concept of history known to ancient Greece and India it becomes apparent that like Greece India too was conscious of its heritage. In the beginning the scholars of both the countries had almost a similar approach in relation to the past. *Mahābharata* and the *Purāṇas* talk of a cycle of four *Yugas*.[15] They also state that mankind was more happy in early days and with the advance of time it started witnessing difficult days.[16] Thus, according to the said texts, the living conditions of *Kṛita-Yuga* were better than those of *Tretā*.[17] The *tretā* in its own turn was better than the *Dvāpara*[18] And, the *Kali* age, to which the present

generation of mankind belongs, is the worst and full of trouble.[19] Hesiod, the earliest known Greek scholar, in whose writings the idea of history finds reflection, too, talks in the same vein. He states that a study of the five stages of the history of mankind clearly shows that each stage was better than the succeeding one.[20] The heroic age was, however, an exception as it was better than the preceding one.[21] His present, which he refers to as iron age, was worse than the past ones like the *Kali* age of the Indians.[22] The cyclic view of the human condition, too, is similar in both the civilizations. The idea of Heraclitus that "all things are passing, both human and divine, upwards and downwards by exchanges"[23] can be compared with that statement of Kalidasa which suggests that happiness and misery go on making their respective impact on the life of each and every person.[24]. Moreover, the Vedic *Vaṁśāvalis* and the *Mahābhārata* traditions are certainly older than the writings of the earliest known Greek scholar Hesiod.[25] Further now-a-days people think in terms of the possibility of a process of simultaneous similar development in various parts of the world without trying to know who borrowed from whom. The metaphor of growth was equally attractive to the people of each and every part of the earth in early days. Thus we find that the cyclic concept in relation to the human conditions exist in each and every society.[26]

The suggestion that Kashmir alone could develop the sense of history because of its contact with China, Central Asia and Islamic peoples is also not tenable.[27] As stated earlier the Vedic *Vaṁśāvalis* and Puranic traditions are certainly older than Chinese traditions. Among the Islamic people the advanced concept of history is found, for the first time, in the writings of Ibn Khaldun who belongs to post-Kalhaṇa days. The methodology and the idea of objectivity mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhana is much better than those which find reflection in the Chinese histories and the *Muqaddama* of Ibn Khaldun. Inspite of the claim that the duty of a historian was "to present facts objectively irrespective of moral implications, and without fear of the potential cosequences for the author". The Chinese historians do not speak against the policies of their rulers.[28] Thus it appears certain that India has its own style for the recording of past events. The concept of time, too, was there but as pointed by V.S. Agrawala it differed from that of the West. He says that India does not treat anything as old or of the past; it considers the things eternal.[29] Since we do not have a dead past. we do not bother much about the time frame. But this does not mean that we were not conscious about the past. The very meaning of the word *Purāṇa* is ancient, belonging to old times and a tale of the

past. And, when we look at the *Purāṇa* tradition we find that it was developed as a science as well as an art. Only those who were considered worthy of possessing its knowledge were allowed to pursue the *Purāṇa* tradition by the sages versed in Puranic lores.[30] Since in the absence of knowledge about the past no one can become knowledgeable it was declared that the study of the *Purāṇa* was a must for all the knowledge seekers. It is clearly asserted that *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa* were treated as the fifth Veda.[31] Among the characterstics of the *Purāṇas* the description of *Sarga* (the creation of the world) and *Vaṁśa* (lineage=human history) are considered to be most important.[32] Pargiter has rightly remarked that in the compilation of early Purāṇas the materials used were "*ākhyānas, upākhyānas, gāthās* and *Kalpa-joktis* (and the equivalent *Kalpa-Vākya*). Similar material would appear to have gone to make up the *Itihāsa*."[33] He makes the point more clear by saying that "*Purāṇa* and *Itihāsa*, apart from their application to compilation, are applied to single stories. *Purāṇa* means any 'old tale' or 'ancient lore' generally, and *Itihāsa* would seem properly to denote a story of fact in accordance with its derivation *iti ha āsa*, which denotes actual traditional history. But the line between fact and fable was hardly definite and gradually became blurred, especially where the historical sense was lacking, and so no clear distinction was made, particularly in brahmanic additions to the *Purāṇas*. Hence both words tended to become indefinite."[34] It were such considerations because of which Pargiter was of the opinion that the major portions of the *Purāṇa* dealing with the aspects of dharma were not in their early rendering. He authenticates his conclusion by saying that the *dharma* does not figure in the five characterstics of a *Purāṇa* referred to by the authors of the *Purāṇas*.[35]

Thus history was always given due importance by the scholars of the ancient India. The scholars who have written on ancient Indian historiography and the idea of history have taken into consideration the historical value of the Puranic traditions in detail.[36] However, the analysis of the Jain *Purāṇas*, from this point of view, has failed to attract the attention of the scholars so far. So we propose to analyse the nature and purpose of the historical traditions contained in the *Padmapurāṇa* of Raviṣeṇa, *Ādipurāṇa* of Jinsena, and *Uttarapurāṇa* of Guṇabhadra. *Padmapurāṇa* was composed in seventh century A.D.[37] The *Mahāpurāṇa* has two parts. Its first part, which is known as *Ādipurāṇa*, was written by Jinasena.[38] The tradition was carried by his disciple Guṇabhadra who wrote *Uttarapurāṇa* in an attempt to complete the plan of his preceptor.[39] Both the scholars belong to ninth century A.D.[40] While stating the main characterstics of a *Purāṇa* the author of

the *Ādipurāṇa* says that *Purāṇa* is that which discusses land (country), time, holy places and the deeds of great men.[41] These are, to some extent, similar to those which are mentioned above in connection with the Brahmanical *Purāṇas*. Similarly he also lays emphasis on the discussion concerning the *dharma* by taking terms *dharma* and *Purāṇa* as synonymous.[42] Besides this he speaks about the type of *Purāṇas* also. According to him *Purāṇa* is that which contains the story of only one great person.[43] Whereas a *Mahāpurāṇa* possesses the accounts related to all the sixty three *Śalākāpuruṣas*.[44]

The authors of the Jain *Purāṇas* have explained the nature of their narratives in detail. They have also explained the purpose for which they decided to compose the said *Purāṇas*. Accordingly they call their *Purāṇas* as *Kathā*.[45] The term *Kathā* would not become clear in relation to history unless we look at the different words which were used by the scholars belonging to ancient India to denote the idea which we realize through the word *history*. The Sanskrit dictionaries tell us that *Itihāsa-Purāṇa* (history and ancient traditions, legendary stories) *Itihāsavādaḥ* (historical story, legend), *Itivṛitta* (occurrence, events, story) and *Kathā* (a tale, a story, historical knowledge) are the terms which convey the idea which is embodied in the word *history* of our days.[46] Apte clearly states that *Kathā* means historical knowledge also.[47] This makes us believe that Raviṣeṇa and Jinasena intended to use the word *Kathā* in the sense of history. In the name of the *Kathā* both the scholars narrate the story of the personalities about whose existence the Jain traditions have no doubts. Guṇabhadra does not discuss such things. Actually there was no occasion for him to do so. The reason is that the *Uttarapurāṇa* is a part of *Mahāpurāṇa* which was planned by his teacher. Thus he wrote only about that which was conceived but was left incomplete by Jinasena.

The Jain scholars believe in the existence of Lalitāṅgadeva as well as in his rebirth.[48] Similarly there is nothing to deny the historicity of first *tīrthaṅkara* Ṛṣabhadeva.[49] And, in *Ādipurāṇa* Jinasena decided to narrate the life and achievement of only such people. Like the Brahmanical *Purāṇas* this *Purāṇa* also deals with the creation of the world, etc.[50] Thus we find that on the pattern of the Brahmanical traditions the Jain traditions too had a concept of *Purāṇa*. They also believed in the importance of *Purāṇas*. Jinasena asserts that just as people get gems from the ocean they get valuable and useful saying from the *Purāṇa*.[51]

The writings of Raviṣeṇa are more important from the view-point of history. He selected the famous theme of the *Rāma-kathā* and was

successful in its presentation like Vālmīki. The only difference is that he gives a Jain perception. He did not consider Rāvaṇa as a Rākṣasa.[52] But in other details his account is almost similar to that of Vālmīki, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, etc. Even the cannibalism associated with the son of Ikṣvāku ruler Sudāsa, found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki and *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, was known to Raviṣeṇa, and he describes it with the equally good details.[53] Certain new accounts are also there. The description pertaining to the births of Sītā and her brother Bhāmaṇḍala and the story of Kṛtacitrā a daughter of Rāvana can be cited as examples in this regard.[54] According to Raviṣeṇa the newly born son of Janaka was taken away by his enemy and later he was adopted by a Vidyādhara who named him as Bhāmaṇḍala.[55] Unware of his real parents Bhāmaṇḍala wanted to marry his sister Sītā but was informed by Janaka about her engagement with Rāma.[56] After knowing this the Vidyādhara in an attempt to help his adopted son put a condition. He gave a bow known as Vajrāvarta to Janaka by saying that in case Rāma failed to operate it, he would take Sītā by force to fulfill the wishes of Bhāmaṇḍala.[57] As the story goes, since Rāma succeeded in operating the bow the matter ended on a pleasant note. Similarly *Padmapurāṇa* says that Kṛitacitrā, the daughter of Rāvaṇa, was given in marriage to Madhu, son of king Harivāhana of Mathura.[58] But such deviations appear obvious for the *Purāṇas* when one looks at their purpose. The purpose of the *Purāṇas*—Brāhmaṇa as well as Jain - was to record the various past events. In this context, sometimes, in absence of the proper records the authors used to face the problem of contradictory information available from different traditions. This was an acute problem. We have different versions about a particular episode from the Jaina tradition itself. Sīta is described as a daughter of Janaka by Raviṣeṇa but Guṇabhadra, a scholar of Digamber tradition, takes her to be the daughter of Rāvana and Mandodarī.[59] The Buddhist traditions consider Sītā to be the real sister of Rāma.[60] Thus the authors of *Purāṇas* in an attempt, first, to enlist and then to put the various bits of information in the form of a coherent story often intermingle them to such an extent that instead of facts they appear as fable. Yet their main effort was to tell about the past events.

This makes it clear that in the Jain *Purāṇas* the term *Kathā* is used to denote the meanings contained in the term *history*, yet it is not history in an ordinary sense. It is purposive. Ācārya Jinasena clearly states that *Kathā* is that narrative which serves the cause of *Puruṣārthas*.[61] Out of the four *Purushārthas* he gives primacy to *dharma*.[62] Because bereft of *dharma* other *Purushārthas* become almost redundant. While explaining his opinion thus he says that a narrative

pertaining to *artha* and *kāma*, can also be called a *kathā* only if it is in relation to the cause of the *dharma*.[63] He further states that the *kathā* which promotes the well-being of the mankind alone is good and is known as *Saddharma-Kathā* (accounts concerning the *dharma*).[64] He asserts this point by saying that only that aspect is to be told which brings good to people and includes the fundamentals of the *dharma*.[65] Thus Jinasena wanted to highlight only that past which concerns the persons whose deeds provide the model behaviour to the people. This way he emphasizes the didactic use of past happenings. It is this reason for which he prescribes different types of *Kathās* for different purposes. Here by types he actually means the changes in the style of narration and presentation in accordance to the objective which a narrator wants to achieve by narrating a *Kathā*. Thus according to him *ākṣepini* style ('in which something really intended to be expressed is apparently concealed to convey a particular meaning') is to be adopted when there is an aim to establish a particular viewpoint.[66] On the other hand *vikṣepiṇī* style is needed when the purpose of *Kathā* is to refute the arguments of an opponent.[67]

The author also believes in the value of the objectivity of the narration. For this he prescribes a disciplined life for the narrator. Accordingly a narrator was not to expect monetary benefits from the listeners[68] because in that case it would not be possible for a narrator to convey the truth through a *Kathā*. And, the narrator will start functioning like a court bard. Raviṣeṇa is not that explicit in regard to qualities and types of the *kathā* but his brief remarks show agreement with the views of Ācārya Jinasena.[69] This shows that the ideas expressed by Jinasena about the *Kathā* were known to Jain scholars of Pre-Jinasena days also. In light of this one finds that the themes selected by the said authors were quite appropriate. Among the Jains Ṛṣabhadeva is considered the first *tīrthaṅkara* and thus he is almost accepted as the founder of that system.[70] Since *Ādipurāṇa* of Jinasena deals with the life of *Ṛṣabhanātha* it became very popular among the Jains. Alongwith the *Kathā* of a *tīrthaṅkara* it was very easy for its author to convey the importance of *purushārthas* without whom it was neither possible for the people to enjoy the wordly pleasures nor to attain the *mokṣa*. The purpose of Raviṣeṇa was to convey the *Rāmakathā* to the people and remove the misgivings about Rāvaṇa.[71] But in this effort he nowhere tries to belittle Rāma. In the whole of his account Rāma is that Rāma who is found in the description of Vālmīki. Rāma was an ideal for many and, therefore, Raviṣeṇa decided to use his personality to propagate the ideals of Jainism as well as other good

ideals for the welfare of the people. In case we accept the opinion that *Padmacarita* was composed in the year V.S. 734 (A.D. 677) then we have to accept that it is earlier than any known manuscript of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki. Thus in case of the *Rāmakathā*, etc., it would be wrong to say that Jains were trying to debunk the Brahmanical history and myth.[72]

This is very much apparent from that statement of Raviṣeṇa in which he details the sources which were available to him about the history of Rāma.[73] The *Kathā* about Rāma was first narrated by Lord Vardhamāna Jinendra himself and from him it was learned by Gaṇadhara Gautama.[74] Later Sudharmācārya, son of Dhāriṇī, obtained knowledge of it as it was a *Kathā* of a person whose deeds were full of virtues.[75] Still later it was re-written by Muni Uttaravāgmi.[76] And it was his manuscript which was used by Raviṣeṇa as a source material for his *Padmapurāṇa*.[77] Thus Jain tradition about the *Rāmakathā* is almost as old as that which is available to us form Brahmanical literature. But the difference which occurs in the descriptions of Vālmīki and Raviṣeṇa concerning certain characters like Hanumāna indicates that either there were different traditions about the said character or the later Jain authors had created certain episodes to bring in the element of novelty in their works like the author of *Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa*.[78] Unlike Vālmīki, the author of the *Padmapurāṇa* considers Hanumāna to be a Vidyādhara and connects his father with the line of Prahlāḍa a king of South.[79] Interestingly the account of Raviṣeṇa appear more correct when one looks at the deeds of Vāli, Sugrīva and Hanumāna along with the prosperity and advanced culture of Kiṣkindhā narrated by Vālmīki who called them *Vānaras* (apes).[80] In Brahmanical tradition Hanumāna is portrayed, generally, as a bachelor. But according to *Padmapurāṇa* he had had many wives.[81] The daughter of Sugrīva was also married to him.[82] Similarly Vāli, as per Raviṣeṇa, was not killed by Rāma but had decided to become a Jain monk after giving away his kingdom to his younger brother Sugrīva.[83] The latter, as the story goes, gave his sister in marriage to Rāvaṇa and started ruling his kingdom peacefully.[84] Later a Vidyādhara by the name of Sahasagati tried to capture the kingdom of Sugrīva. It was this Vidyādhara who was killed by Rāma.[85] And, it was this incident which brought friendship between Rāma and Sugrīva. Thus the account of Ravishena actually absolves Rāma from the sin of killing Vāli with a stratagem. It also absolves Vāli from the sins of capturing the wife of his younger brother Sugrīva by force. The account of Guṇabhadra is also very attractive. Besides certain discrepancies, mentioned above, it gives almost all the known

episodes concerning the *Rāmakathā* in brief. The abduction of Sītā, the destruction of Laṅkā, etc,. are narrated on the pattern of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki.[86]

The *Kṛṣṇa Kathā* also finds mention in the *Uttarapurāṇa* of Guṇabhadra.[87] It has only few variations when compared with the Brahmanical version of the events connected with the life of Kṛṣṇa. The main difference is found in the account of Kaṁsa. He is shown as a discarded son of Rājā Ugrasena.[88] He becomes son-in-law of Jarāsandha not because of his own achievements but because of the military victory of Vasudeva over an invincible enemy of that mighty ruler. Vasudeva, in lieu of this service was asked to marry a princess of Magadha. But he refused to do so after knowing about the existence of certain inauspicious marks on the body of the princess. And just to avoid further problems he conveyed to Jarāsandha that it was Kaṁsa who won the battle for him. Jarāsandha, when tried to know the whereabouts of his would be son-in-law, came to know that Kaṁsa was the son of Rājā Ugrasena of Mathura. He also learned that immediately after his birth he (Kaṁsa) was floated in Yamuna because Ugrasena was informed that the stars of the child were destined to bring bad luck to him. It was this act because of which Kaṁsa had imprisoned his father Ugrasena. He however, remained subservient to Vasudeva and gave his sister Devāki to him in marriage. The rest of the story relating the deeds of Kṛṣṇa is the same which is found in *Vishṇupurāṇa*, etc.[89] The plus point of Guṇabhara is that he highlights the action of Vasudeva also. He is shown as a man of many virtues and valorous acts.[90] This proves that the Jains had details about *Kṛṣṇa-Kathā* too. And, they have tried to present it in an objective way. Not this alone. The Jain account tries to present certain episodes of *Mahābhārata* even in a much more sober way. Guṇabhadra, while describing the birth of Karṇa, says that he was born because of the pre-martial sex relations of Pāṇḍu and Kunti.[91] He does not say that Pāṇḍu was not the father of Pāṇḍavas. He also says that Karṇa was found by Rājā of Champā and his queen Rādhā accepted him as her own son.[92]. Thus the Jain *Purāṇas* nowhere try to denigrate the heroes of Brahmanical texts. They condemn only the Brahmanical mythology and religious ideals in an attempt to establish the superiority of the Jain doctrines.

The subject matter of the Jain *Purāṇas* was thus history, though because of their religious nature they try to eulogise Jainism by describing even Lord Rāma as a devout Jaina.[93] They also failed to get rid of the supernatural elements. But their effort was to tell about the past without any doubt. However, the Jain authors always tried to

narrate only those events of the past which were fit to provide models to the masses. The concept of a history which can bring good to all the people has a deep rooted tradition in India. It continued in later years and its reflection is found even in the *Rāmacaritamānasa* of saint poet Tulasīdāsa.[94] He states that eulogy, poetry and material possessions are good only if they do good to each and every person.[95] The short-comings from the perspective of the scientific history are there because the effort of Jain authors was to present the entire past in the light of Jain religion and Jain religious ideas about creation, etc. In this context, however, generally they did not ignore the facts and therefore, the distortion of past episodes is absent. The changes which they made, were in relation to the importance and antiquity of the Jain religion. It was this tendency because of which, as stated above, even Rāma was declared as an adherent of Jainism. Further, man was not that scientific before the success of positive sciences. Herodotus, inspite of all his zeal for a rational approach, could not avoid the imaginary description of the ants of the size of dogs who used to attack fiercely all whose intentions were to carry the gold protected by them.[96]

NOTES

1. R.Linton, *Tree of Culture*, (Alfred A.Knopf, New York, 1955), p. 7.
2. E.H.Carr, *What is history?* (Vintage Book, New York, 1961), pp. 16- 20. The author has given a beautiful example of this processing process.
3. S. Usher, *The Historians of Greece and Rome* (Methuen & Co. Ltd; London, 1969), pp.22, 125-126. The author has shown the difference between the approaches of Greeks and Romans though the Romans had borrowed freely from the Greeks.
4. *Ibid.*, p.4; Alan G.Widgery, *Interpretations of History* (George Allen and Unwin. Ltd; London, 1961), p.143.
5. C.H. Philips (ed.) *Historians of India Pakistan and Ceylon* (Oxford University Press. London, reprint, 1967), pp. 13, 20, 25.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*, p.5; Alan G.Widgery, *op. cit.*, p.46.
8. C.H. Philips (ed.)., *op. cit.*, p. 25, U.N. Ghoshal, *Studies in Indian History and Culture* (Orient Longman, Calcutta, 1965) pp. 1-2.
9. Reva Prasad Dvivedi (ed.), *Kālidāsa-Granthāvali* (Kashi Hindu Visvavidyalaya, Varanasi, 1976), p. 446, *Meghadūta Uttaramegha*), 46.

10. E.H. Carr, *op. cit.*, p.72; P. Gardiner, *Theories of History* (The Free Press, New York, 1969), p.8.
11. E.C.Sachau, *Alberuni's India* (S. Chand & Co. New Delhi, Ist Indian Print, 1964), Vol. II, pp. 10-11; M.A. Stein (ed.), Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, reprint 1979), Vol.I, pp. 31-32.
12. E.C.Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol.II, pp. 5-8, 15-19.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-8.
14. *Ibid.*
15. Allan G.Widgery, *op. cit.*, p.43; *Srīviṣṇupurāṇa* (Gita Press, Gorakhpur, V.S. 2044) S. 8-20 (p. 206) tells that every *Manvantara* has a cycle of four *Yugas*. This way the text refers to the existence of 28 *Dvāpara Yugas*.
16. Allan G.Widgery, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.* p. 67.
24. Reva Prasad Dvivedi (ed.), *op. cit. Meghadūta* (*Uttara Megha*). 46.
25. S.Usher, *op. cit.*, p.1. Hesiod belongs to post-Homer period whereas, according to Max Müller. *Ṛgveda* belongs to 1200 B.C. V.S. Pathak, *Ancient Historians of India* (Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1966), pp. 1-4.
26. Robert A.Nisbet, *Social Change and History* (Oxford University Press, reprint, U.S.A., 1970). pp. 7-11, Early civilization "passes through the age-phases of the man, It has its childhood, youth, manhood and old age."
27. C.H. Philips (ed.) *op. cit.*, p. 5.
28. M.Loewe, *China* (George Allen and Unwin Ltd; London), 1966. pp. 281- 286.
29. P.K. Agrawala (ed.), *Itihāsa-Darsana* (*Collection of Papers of the Late Prof.V.S.Agrawala*) (Prithvi Prakashan, Varanasi, p. 7.
30. *Śrīvishṇupurāṇa* (*op. cit.*), 1. 26 (p.5); A.D. Pusalkar "Hamare *Purāṇa* - Ek Samikṣā" in *Hindu Sanskriti* (Hindi) Gita Press Gorakhpur), pp. 551-558, E.J. Rapson (ed.), *Cambridge History of India* (S.Chand & Co., Delhi, 1962),p. 264.
31. Sudarshan Singh, "*Hindu Sanskriti aura Purāṇa*" in *Hindu Saṁskriti* (*op. cit.*), p. 295.
32. A.D. Pusalkar, *op. cit.*, p. 552.
33. F.E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* (Motilal Banarsidass, Reprint, Delhi, 1972), p. 33.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
36. U.N. Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-48.
37. G.Choudhary, *Jain Sāhitya Ka Bṛhad Itihāsa* (Hindi, Parsvanatha Vidyasrama Shodha Sansthana, Varanasi, 1973), p. 41.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
39. *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.
40. *Ibid.*, pp. 59,62.
41. Jinasena, *Ādipurāṇa* (edited with Hindi translation by Pannalal Jain in two volumes, Bhartiya Jananpith, Varanasi, 1963), Parva I, 19- 26.
42. G.Choudhary, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57.
44. *Ibid.*
45. Jinasena, *op. cit.*, *Parva* I, 108-125. Raviṣeṇa, *Padmapurāṇa* (edited with Hindi translation by Pannalal Jain in two volumes, Bhartiya Jananpith, Kashi, 1958), *Parva* I, 23-28.
46. V.S. Apte, *The Practical-Sanskrit English Dictionary* (Gopal Narain & Co., Bombay, 1912.).
47. *Ibid.*
48. Jinasena, *op. cit.*, *Parva* VI, 1-61.
49. *Ibid.*, *Parva* XIV. 1-22; E.J. Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-137.
50. Jinasena, *op. cit.*, *Parva* II, 119.
51. *Ibid.*, *Parva* II, 116.
52. Raviṣeṇa, *op. cit.*, *Parva* III. 8(p.32).
53. *Śrīmadvālmīkīya Rāmāyaṇa* (Gita Press, Gorakhpur, V.S. 2048) Vol. II, *Utarakāṇḍa*, *Sarga* LXV 27-39; *Śrīviṣṇupurāṇa* (*op. cit.*) IV. 45-69; Raviṣeṇa, *op. cit.*, *Parva* XXII, 134-141.
54. Raviṣeṇa, *op. cit.*, Vol. I (Introduction), p. 15.
55. *Ibid.*
56. *Ibid.*
57. *Ibid.*
58. *Ibid.*, Parva XII.
59. Guṇabhadra, *Uttarapurāṇa* (edited with Hindi translation by Pannalal Jain, Bhartiya Jananpith Publication, Kashi, 1968), *Parva* 68. 17-34.
60. Raviṣeṇa Vol. I, *op. cit.*, (Introduction), p. 12.
61. Jinasena, *op. cit.*, *Parva* I, 118.
62. *Ibid.*, *Parva* I, 118-120.
63. *Ibid.*, *Parva* I, 119.
64. *Ibid.*, *Parva* I, 120.
65. *Ibid.*
66. *Ibid.*, *Parva* I, 135-136.
67. *Ibid.*
68. *Ibid.*, *Parva* I, 143.
69. Raviṣeṇa, *op. cit.*, *Parva* I, 23-28.

70. E.J.Rapson (ed.), *Op.Cit*, pp. 136-137.
71. Raviṣeṇa, *op. cit.*, *Parva* III, 19-23.
72. A.K. Warder, *An Introduction to Indian Historiography* (Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1972), p. 32.
73. G.Choudhary, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
74. *Ibid.*
75. *Ibid.*
76. *Ibid.*
77. *Ibid.*
78. Raviṣeṇa, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. 19.
79. *Ibid.*, Parva, XV
80. *Śrīmadvālmīkīya Rāmāyaṇa, op. cit., Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa.*
81. Raviṣeṇa, *op. cit.*, *Parva*, XVIV, 101-127.
82. *Ibid.*
83. *Ibid.*, *Parva* IX, 88-90.
84. *Ibid.*, *Parva* IX, 100.
85. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. 15.
86. Guṇabhadra, *op. cit.*, *Parva*, LXVIII
87. *Ibid.*, *Parva*, LXXI, LXXII
88. *Ibid.*
89. *Śrīviṣṇupurāṇa, Op.Cit., Pañchama Aṁśa.*
90. Guṇabhadra, *op. cit.*, *Parva*, LXXI & LXXII
91. *Ibid.*, LXX, 104-116.
92. *Ibid.*, The *Mahābhārata* says that Karṇa was born because of the union of God Sun and Kuntī. It also says that Karṇa, when discarded by his unwed mother, was adopted by the wife of the charioteer of the Kauravas.
93. Guṇabhadra, *op. cit.*, *Parva* LXVIII, 732.
94. Tulsīdāsa, *ŚrīRāmacaritamānasa* (Gita Press, Gorakhpur, V.S. 2048), Bālakāṇḍa, 5(p.17).
95. *Ibid.*
96. H. Carter, *The Histories of Herodotus of Halicarnasus* (Oxford University Press, London, 1962), pp. 207-208.

Towns and Trade in the Samarāichchakahā: Text and Context

Vijay Kumar Thakur
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The religious texts of early India, in spite of their serious limitations, have helped considerably in delineating the contours of contemporary economic life. Many of these texts, in order to make their message intelligible, pick up their idioms from areas directly touching upon the lives of their followers. The Jaina texts, as a consequence of the mercantile base of the religion is of direct bearing on this theme. This is very true of the texts compiled in the post-A.D. 600 period in central and western parts of the Indian subcontinent. The Jaina *dharmakathās* or folk-tales of the period, expounding religious precepts in the garb of stories generally woven around the life of a merchant, are extremely valuable for the study of trade and towns of the period. The Samarāichchakahā, a Jaina text written in Prakrit by a Jaina *āchārya*, Haribhadra Sūri, illustrates this historiographical position by delineating the nature of trade-urban complex during the opening centuries of early medieval India, a period that requires greater attention as it is the inaugural phase of a new social formation in the history of the area. Recent studies of early Indian urban complex have been of some help, but these are too limited in number and almost too concerned with pre-A.D. 600 India[1] to provide meaningful answers to the problems connected with early medieval urban historiography. Even the studies, though very few in number, dealing with the post-Gupta process of urbanisation[2] hardly make the pattern clear. By c. A.D. 600 most of the erstwhile towns of the subcontinent had either disappeared altogether or declined to the level of inconsequentiality. This development has a direct bearing on the socio-economic formations in the early middle ages of Indian history; the emergence of a feudal society is partially corroborated by the decaying status of the urban

tradition. The study of trade and towns depicted in the *Samarāichchakahā* is, therefore, pertinent for a better comprehension of the dynamics of the contemporary society as well as of the feudal-urban dichotomy.

The dating of the *Samarāichchakahā* still remains a matter of controversy. One can sort out this problem by analysing the chronological references to its author, Haribhadra Sūri, in the Jaina texts of the period. The most relevant piece of information comes from a contemporary Jaina *dharmakathā*. Udhyotana Sūri, the author of a Jaina text, the *Kuvalayamālakahā*, informs us that Haribhadra Sūri was his teacher.[3] From the internal evidence of the text we know that the *Kuvalayamālakahā* was completed in the Saka era 700 (=A.D. 778).[4] This makes it obvious that Haribhadra's date should be taken as anterior to A.D. 778.[5] Muni Jina Vijaya has given the following list of *ācārya* with their dates on the basis of the writings of Haribhadra:[6]

Dharma Kīrti	A.D. 600-650
Bhartṛhari, the author of the *Vākyapadīya*	A.D. 600-650
Kumārila	A.D. 620-700
Subhagupta	A.D. 640-700
Śānta Rakṣita	A.D. 705-732

On the basis of this list of names mentioned by Haribhadra, it can be concluded that Haribhadra can not be placed before A.D. 700. Thus, the combined evidence of the *Kuvalayamālakahā* and the list of names mentioned by Haribhadra himself, makes it imperative to place Haribhadra Sūri between A.D. 700 and 778.

Abhayanagar, however, suggests that Haribhadra was influenced by Śaṅkarācārya and, therefore, the former should be placed after the latter.[7] But Muni Jina Vijaya convincingly shows that Śaṅkarācārya was preceded by Haribhadra. According to him, Haribhadra has referred to all his learned predecessors, but he did not refer to Śaṅkarācārya (A.D. 778-820), a fact which indicates that Haribhadra preceded him.[8] Abhayanagar, puts forward another evidence to corroborate his dating. Siddharṣī, the author of the *Upamitibhavaparapañchakahā*, salutes Haribhadra as his teacher in the introductory portion of his composition.[9] Abhayanagar, on the basis of this reference, takes Haribhadra as the direct teacher of Siddharṣī and places the former between Vikrama era 800 and 950 (=A.D. 742-892). Jina Vijaya, however, points out that Siddharṣī freed himself from the evils of a

disdainful and sexual life after going through the *Lalitavistaravṛtti* of Haribhadra and, therefore, regarded him as his symbolic teacher.[10] The above discussion clearly bears out the futility of regarding Haribhadra, a teacher of Siddharṣī, who is placed towards the beginning of the 10th century A.D. It also suggests that Haribhadra, who was the teacher of Udhyotana Sūri, the author of the *Kuvalayamālākahā* (the text was completed in A.D. 778), had nothing to do with Śaṅkarācārya and the latter did not influence the former.

In the *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya*, *śloka* 30, of Haribhadra certain verses of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa's *Nyāyamañjarī* are recorded *in toto*.[11] This has been taken to suggest that Haribhadra quoted from the *Nyāyamañjarī* and, therefore, he is later than Jayanta Bhaṭṭa. Mahendra Kumar dates the *Nyāyamañjarī* to *c.* A.D. 800 and puts Haribhadra after A.D. 800.[12] But the acceptance of this date goes contrary to the positive evidence suggesting the early contemporaneity of Haribhadra with Udhyotana Sūri. Nemichandra Shastri, however, rightly points out that both Haribhadra and Jayanta might have quoted from an earlier text.[13] He, however, suggests that Haribhadra was a contemporary of Mallavadī, who flourished around A.D. 827.[14] Keeping in view the teacher-disciple relationship between Haribhadra and Udhyotana Sūri, the author of the *Kuvalayamālākaha*, he places Haribhadra between A.D. 730 and 830.[15]

Thus, we have three important dates connected with the life of Haribhadra:

(i) The date of the last *ācārya*, Śāntarakṣita (A.D. 705-732), mentioned by Haribhadra;
(ii) The teacher-taught relationship between Haribhadra and Udhyotana Sūri and the completion of the *Kuvalayamālākahā* in A.D. 778;
(iii) Guidance provided by Haribhadra to Mallavadī, the author of the *Śatikanyacakra*, in writing the commen-tary of the *Anekāntajayapataka*, and the date of Mallavadī around A.D. 827.

If the date of Śāntarakṣita is correct, then Haribhadra must be placed after A.D. 732. Similarly if his association with Mallavadi is authentic, his last date may be put around c. A.D. 825 as he was definitely an elder contemporary of the latter. Keeping in view his relationship with Udhyotana Sūri one cannot put him too close to A.D. 778; if one places the beginning of his career around A.D. 740 it wil be

quite logical. Thus, it may be roughly suggested that Haribhadra Sūri lived from c. A.D. 740 to c. A.D. 825.

The geographical horizon of the *Samarāichchakahā* is also relevant to the present discussion. The geographical background of the text will give an idea of the area to which the description pertains. Generally speaking, the Jaina Prākrit and *Apabhraṁśa* literature of the early medieval period tends to describe the condition of contemporary Rajasthan, Gujarat and neighbouring areas; the *Samarāichchakahā* hardly seems to be an exception. From the post-9th century A.D. Jaina texts and from Haribhadra's own account it is well known that he was born at Chitrakūṭa (Chittor) in Rajasthan. He was a brāhmaṇa and became the royal priest of King Jītārya. Subsequently he became a Jaina and spent his life in Gujarat and Rajasthan. Though the geographical regions and centres mentioned in the *Samarāichchakahā* indicate the familiarity of Haribhadra with northern India, yet it will be seen that his knowledge of northern regions is second hand; references to South India are so marginal that they hint at the complete unfamiliarity of this region on the part of Haribhadra.

The date and the area of composition of the *Samarāichchakahā* is extremely significant. The text can be placed in the second half of the 8th century A.D. and it should be asserted that the 8th century along with the 7th century A.D. marks a transition in Indian history. The ancient period had come to an end and the forces of medievalism were becoming dominant. During these centuries, therefore, the truncated ancient as well as the efflorescent medieval forces were operating side by side—one was heading towards decline whereas the other was steadily coming to the fore. Similarly the area of composition of the text, *i.e.* roughly speaking, western India, is significant for the western coast was possibly the only region of the period which was participating in external trade. Apparently this area enjoyed a unique position as far as trade and towns were concerned. The situation becomes more revealing when viewed in the background of the feudal institutional developments of the early middle ages. Historically speaking, trade and urban centres are non-existent in a feudal *milieu*.[16] Contrary to this general hypothesis, the *Samarāichchakahā* tends to portray the picture of an urban flourish and commercial stability during the 8th-9th centuries. A.D. apparently because of its area of composition. Nonetheless, this is a dichotomous situation and the present analysis will also attempt to resolve this apparent feudal-urban incompatibility.

The value of the *Samarāichchakahā* as a source for contemporary

socio-economic history is considerable. Though it is a religious text, yet the contemporary socio-economic forces and institutional developments have been given a meaningful treatment by the author. The significance of the text is further enhanced by the fact that the text describes the society, economy, polity and religion of a transitionary phase, *i.e.* the end of the acient period and the beginnings of the middle ages. The decline of ancient traditional values and practices and the rise of a new spirit has been remarkably portrayed in this text. One wonders whether it echoes the *Kali* age descriptions of the Brāhmaṇical texts and the resultant socio-economic formations of early middle ages.

The *Samarāichchakahā* contains detailed references to contemporary trade and trade-routes. In fact, a majority of the main characters mentioned in this text were connected with mercantile activities. Due to the theory of extreme non-violence of the Jainas and the consequent selection of trade as the ideal form of economic pursuit for the lay followers, the text contains substantial information pertaining to urban economy. Towns, both regional and inter-regional, have been referred to. These references mostly occur in the context of long distance trade. But the text clearly bears out the disjointed nature of the urban-commerical complex. Descriptions of towns are very often conventional in nature. The trade activities, in spite of the excessive focus of the text on commerce, were indubitably on low key. In spite of these limitations, the text does contain significant information about the nature and functioning of urban economy in the post-Gupta times. The survey of the urban centres mentioned in the *Samarāichchakahā*[17] brings to the fore a number of interesting points. To begin with, not all the settlements referred to as towns belonged to the urban category. This becomes clear from the following chart based primarily on references in the text.[18]

Sl. No.	Name of the settlement	Whether referred to in any other contemporary source	Whether identified	Any positive evidence for characterising it as an urban centre
1	2	3	4	5
1.	Ayodhyā	Yes	Yes	No
2.	Kāmpilya	Yes	Yes	No
3.	Kauśāmbī	Yes	Yes	No

4.	Thāneśvara	Yes	Yes	Yes
5.	Vārāṇasī	Yes	Yes	Yes
6.	Hastināpura	Yes	Yes	Yes
7.	Amarapura	Yes	Yes	Yes
8.	Kṛtangalā	No	No	No
9.	Gāndhāra Nagara	No	No	No
10.	Gajapura	Yes	Yes	No
11.	Chakravālapura	No	Yes	No
12.	Jayasthala	No	No	No
13.	Tankanapura	No	No	No
14.	Dhānyapūraka	No	No	No
15.	Pāṭalāpatha	No	Yes	No
16.	Brahmapura	Yes	Yes	No
17.	Bhambhā Nagara	No	Yes	Yes
18.	Madanpura	No	Yes	No
19.	Mākandī	No	Yes	No
20.	Ratnapura	No	Yes	No
21.	Rathavīrapura	No	No	No
22.	Rājapura	No	Yes	No
23.	Lakṣmī Nilaya	No	No	Yes
24.	Vardhanāpura	No	No	No
25.	Vilāsapura	No	Yes	No
26.	Śankhavardhana	No	No	No
27.	Śvetavikā	No	Yes	Yes
28.	Sāketa	No	Yes	No
29.	Śrāvastī	Yes	Yes	Yes
30.	Śrīsthala	No	No	No
31.	Kākandi	Yes	Yes	No
32.	Kanakpura	Yes	Yes	Yes
33.	Kusumpura	Yes	Yes	Yes
34.	Pāṭaliputra	Yes	Yes	No
35.	Campāpurī	Yes	Yes	Yes
36.	Mahāsara	No	Yes	No
37.	Mithila	Yes	Yes	Yes
38.	Rathanūpura	Yes	Yes	No
39.	Viśākhavardhana	No	Yes	Yes
40.	Kṣitiparatiṣṭha	Yes	Yes	Yes
41.	Tāmralipti	Yes	Yes	Yes
42.	Cakrapura	Yes	Yes	No
43.	Jayapura	Yes	Yes	Yes
44.	Danatapura	Yes	Yes	Yes

45.	Acalapura	Yes	Yes	Yes
46.	Ānandapura	Yes	Yes	Yes
47.	Ujjayinī	Yes	Yes	Yes
48.	Viśālā	Yes	Yes	No
49.	Vairāta Nagara	No	Yes	No
50.	Suśarma Nagara	No	Yes	No
51.	Śrīpura	No	Yes	No
52.	Gajjanaka	No	Yes	No
53.	Giristhala	No	Yes	No
54.	Vaijayantī	No	Yes	Yes
55.	Śankhapura	Yes	No	No
56.	Gandha Samṛdha Nagara	No	No	No
57.	Devapura	No	No	No
58.	Viśvapura	No	No	No

Out of these 58 towns as many as 44 have been identified, but in most of the cases the identification is highly conjectural and purely tentative; only a few of them can be identified with some amount of certainty. Interestingly only 28 of them have been referred to in the contemporary or near contemporary sources, a fact which implies that the rest of the settlements were too insignificant to merit any attention. This indicates the nature of references to urban centres in the *Samarāichchakahā*. In fact, even a very liberal analysis can not put the number of actual urban centres beyond 21; the other 37 settlements do not seem to be towns. This is not to suggest that the *Samarāichchakahā* positively refers to as many as 21 towns; in fact, one can begin the analysis with these 21 settlements, for the rest of them do not merit any attention at all in the context of the present analysis of the early medieval urban centres of northern India. It is, however, pertinent to note that the *Samarāichchakahā* hardly makes the urban nature of a town explicit; it just refers to the settlement as a town. This certainly betrays a lack of proper comprehension of distinctions between urban and rural settlements on the part of Haribhadra, a fact which considerably decreases the value of the work as a source for the study of urban centres. This lacunae may have been due to an obliteration in the eyes of Haribhadra of any distinction between a town and a sizeable village, a fact which has bound to affect his characterisation of urban centres.

The 21 settlements which have even the 'minimal' attributes of an urban centre need a proper analysis for a comprehension of the actual

urban scenario of the *Samarāichchakahā* (see the Table).

Sl No.	Name of the Town	Identification	Urban features	Nature
1.	Thānesvara	In the Ambala district of the Punjab	Administrative centre and centre of Brāhmaṇical religion.	Politico religious
2.	Vārāṇasī	Modern Banaras, U.P.	Centre of Brāhmaṇ-ical and Jaina religions.	Religious
3.	Hastināpura	In the Meerut district, U.P.	Centre of Brāhmaṇ-ical and Jaina religions	Religious
4.	Amarapura	Not very precisely located	Political centre, centre of Brāhmaṇ-ical religion and commercial centre	Politico-religious and commercial
5.	Bhambhā Nagara	In modern Assam	Centre of a city State	Political
6.	Lakṣmī Nilaya	In modern Assam; not identified	Centre of a city state; some commercial connections	Political commercial
7.	Śvetavikā	In the Nepalese *tarai*	Centre of a city-state and trade centre.	Politico commerical
8.	Śrāvastī	Modern Sahet Mahet in U.P.	A centre of Buddhism and commerce	Religious and commercial
9.	Kanakapura	Modern Rajgir in Bihar	Centre of a city-state	Political
10.	Kusumapura	Modern Patna in Bihar	Commercial connection	Commercial

11. Campāpurī	A place near Bhagalpur in Bihar	Centre of Jaina and Brāhmaṇical pilgrimage	Religious
12. Mithilā	A place in modern north Bihar	Centre of Sanskrit learning and a market place	Educational and market town.
13. Kṣitipratiṣṭha	Rajgir in modern Bihar.	Planned; a centre of Buddhism and Jainism	Religious
14. Tāmralipti	Moder Tamluk in Midnapur district of West Bengal	Centre of commerce and a centre of Jainas and Buddhists.	Commercial (a port-town) and religious
15. Jayapura	Modern Jayapur in Cuttack district of Orissa	Political centre	An administrative centre.
16. Dantapura	Identification not certain	The seat of royal power and possibly a religious centre	Politico-religious
17. Acalapura	Modern Ilichapur in Amaravati district	A commercial centre	Commercial
18. Ānandapura	Modern Ananda in Gujarat	A centre of Brāhmaṇism and Jainism	Religious
19. Ujjayinī	Modern Ujjain in M.P.	Planned; trade centre.	Commercial
20. Rathanūpura Cakra-vālapura	Near modern Chaibasa in Bihar	Centre of a city-state	Political
21. Vaijayantī	The area of the Bay of Bengal.	Centre of internal and external trade	Commercial (a port-town).

Out of these 21 'towns' three have not been identified and, therefore, we may delete them from this list, thereby putting the total at 18. It is interesting to note here that the *Samarāichchakahā* has made separate references to Kaṇakapura and Kṣitipratiṣṭha as independent towns though both of these names represent the same ancient town, *i.e.* Rājagṛha. To top it all, from the description contained in the text they seem to be of completely diverse natures—Kaṇakapura has been described as a city-state and hence a political centre, whereas Kṣitipratiṣṭha emerges as a well planned settlement which was a prominent centre of both Buddhism and Jainism. Apparently the author did not have a first hand knowledege of this region, a situation which is also corroborated by the fact that Kusumapura and Pāṭaliputra too have been described as distinct towns though, like Kaṇakapura and Kṣitapratiṣṭha, they represent the same site, *i.e.* modern Patna. This ignorance of the author is more pronounced in the case of Bihar and, therefore, it may be suggested that his description of urban centres of eastern India is not reliable.

Anyway the synonymity of Kaṇakapura and Kṣitipratiṣṭha further reduces the number of towns to 17 though it should be repeated that whether the *Samarāichchakahā* actually knew of so many towns of the 8th-9th centuries A.D. is debatable.

Bhambhā Nagara, in modern Assam, and Rathanūpura Cakravālapura, near modern Chaibasa in Bihar, have been characterised as centres of city-states; they did not have any other attribute that may qualify them as urban centres. Apparently their importance lay in the fact that they were political centres. But it should be borne in mind that the other contemporary sources do not refer to the institution of city-state as a separate politico-administrative identity of the post-Mauryan type. While the sources clearly bear out that the post-Mauryan city-state centres were typical urban centres,[19] the same is not true of their early medieval counterparts. This was primarily due to a complete change in the socio-economic *milieu* of the later period. The growth of feudalism, based on extensive land-grants, led to the emergence of almost autonomous centres of administration in the donated areas and probably settlements like Bhambhā Nagara and Rathanūpura Cakravālapura formed the epi-centre of such autonomous pockets of administration. Naturally such settlements can not qualify as urban centres just on the basis of their being 'city-states'. One will have to look for other distinct urban attributes before designating them as towns, for their politico-administrative connections were obviously too weak to provide

any meaningful urban character to the respective sites. Thus, Bhambhā Nagara and Rathanūpura-Chakrawālapura can not be regarded as urban centres, a presumption which reduces the number of 'possible' towns to 15.

Śvetavikā, in the Nepalese *tarai*, was yet another city-state, but it had some commercial pretensions too. Its political importance should not be unduly emphasised due to the simple reason that it may have been in all probability, a small feudal estate whose politics was not complex enough to rear up an administrative town. But what makes Śvetavikā different from the two other contemporary 'city-states' is its commercial connection. The *Samarāichchakahā* records that it had trading connections with Tamralipti and Śrīpura.[20] There is hardly any doubt that this reference does not indicate a vigorous commerical activity at Śvetavikā; it rather suggests a very marginal and routine connection with important neighbouring settlements. Apparently one can not regard Śvetavikā an urban centre on the basis of this limited and almost meaningless evidence pertaining to its economic activity.

Jayapura (modern Jayapur), in the Cuttack district of Orissa, has also been described a town primarily due to its political connections. In fact, the *Samarāichchakahā* makes no reference to the contemporary political importance of this place; it was Hsuan-tsang who described it as the capital of Orissa in the first half of the 7th Century A.D.[21] This statement of Hsuan-Tsang, however, might suggest that Jayapura was an important administrative centre of his time, but this is seemingly not true. Jayapura was not the capital of the whole of Orissa/Kaliṅga, but it was the capital of Airavatta *maṇḍala* where the local Nanda Kings were ruling.[22] They were local rulers and their rule did not continue for long; with the end of their rule Jayapura also faded into obscurity and lost whatever urban pretensions it had during the early period. By the time of Haribhadra, Jayapura was no longer a capital, and his description of the settlement seems to have been based on earlier traditions. Thus, it would be proper to suggest that Jayapura was not an urban settlement.

Ānandapura (identified with Ananda), in modern Ananda *tāluka* of Gujarat, has been described as a centre of Brāhmaṇism and Jainism. This place owed its importance to two facts : it was the original home of the Nāgara brāhmaṇas[23] and it was a centre of Jaina *śramanas* who used to visit Mathura from this place.[24] These two attributes indicates the "sacredness" of the place as well as its status as a religious refuge; they hardly suggest or betray an urban status of the site. Ānandapura too, threfore, cannot be regarded as an urban centre in the real sense of

the term; it was just an important rural settlement having distinct religious affiliations. Its suggested identification with Vadangara or modern Vadner in the neighbourhood of Baroda,[25] which is highly doubtful, makes it the headquarters of the *bhoga* and *viṣaya* of the same name. This apparent political significance of this place, however, does not seem to have lasted beyond the 7th century A.D.

The "town" of Vaijayantī, somewhere on the eastern coast, possibly in the Bay of Bengal, has been described as a very important port of the times. There are clear references to the commercial links of this place with a number of regions, both internal and foreign. If one goes by this text, every major foreign zone which had contacts with India was linked up by sea-trade with Vaijayantī. Significantly it was a port which has a direct maritime connection with the Indonesian region. In spite of this commercial projection of the place in the *Samarāichchakahā* the port has not yet been identified.[26] Obviously one can not completely ignore its commerical ethos, but in the absence of even its identification one can not seriously go for its urban status.

Acalapura, identified with modern Ilichapura in Amaravati district, has also been referred to as a centre of trade and exchange. Thus the *Samarāichchakahā* tells us that a merchant named Dharaṇa, belonging to the place called Mākandī, went to Acalapura, sold his goods by taking certain portion of profit and after spending some time in sale and purchase returned with merchandise fit for trade at Mākandī.[27] It seems to have been located in the territory of the Ābhiras. But the problem with our source is its lack of explicit references to the possible urban character and manifestations of this site. Moreover, a survey of the Ābhira history of the 8th and early 9th centuries A.D. hardly tells much about Acalapura and still less about its possible urban nature. The Ābhiras, and consequently some of their settlements, might have come into prominence because of a completely different development. During this period an intense process of acculturation and the concomitant transformation of the tribal groups into caste groups was going on. The Ābhira territory might have come into prominence because during this period, for the first time, we hear of Ābhira brāhamaṇas, Ābhira kṣatriyas, Ābhira vaiśyas, Ābhira mahāśūdras and of Ābhira carpenters and goldsmiths.[28] This is not to suggest that the Ābhiras were unknown before this development; rather this is just to suggest that they gained in prominence because of their absorption within the Brāhmaṇical society and the consequent references to some of their settlements in the early madieval texts.

Ujjayinī, in Malwa, however, seems to have been an urban centre

of standing. This town, which was the capital of the Avanti *mahājanapada* in the 6th century B.C., continued to thrive as a major centre of trade and culture during the Gupta and post-Gupta times. It was a holy place for Brāhmaṇical religionists, Buddhists and Jainas. When the Chinese pilgrim Hsuan-tsang visited this place, it was 30 *li* or approximately 5 miles in circuit. Though the city had numerous monasteries, only 3 or 4 were inhabited. It had, however, a number of temples of Brāhmaṇical deities.[29] Subsequently the city came to be patronised by the Partihāras and the Paramāras. The excavations carried out at the site also suggest its more or less meaningful habitation during the post-Gupta times. Period III, extending from the Śūnga to Paramāra times, has yielded brick constructions over rubble plinths, terracotta soakage-wells, bottomless soakage jars, terracotta pipe-drains as well as brick drains.[30] A unique terracotta votive tank along with terracotta figurines of mother and child, recalling a mother-goddess, points to a form of popular worship.[31] The period, however, hardly yields any meaningful evidence for the commercial viability and mercantile activities of the place. Even the coins forthcoming from the site primarily belong to the pre-A.D. 600 phase. The site is, however, rich in artefacts connected with religion, which clearly suggests the temple base of this urban centre. Significantly, period IV, represented by a 10 feet thick occupational deposit, was mostly disturbed by extensive pits dug deliberately towards the end of the occupation.[32]

Mithilā as an urban centre, however, seems to have decayed by the early medieval times. Initially it might have been an important urban centre of ancient India, but subsequently this name came to be applied to the whole of northern Bihar; Mithilā, in the early medieval times, therefore, was a geographical region, not a specific place. In this context it is interesting to note that Vidyāpati, a Maithila literateur of the subsequent period, refers to the urban centres of Kusumapura,[33] Kośala,[34] Ujjain,[35] Kāmpila,[36] Pāṇḍu,[37] Gorakhapura,[38] Kauśāmbī,[39] Yoginīpura,[40] Mathurā,[41] Sālmalipura,[42] Banaras,[43] Devagiri,[44] Rādham,[45] etc., but makes no mention of either Mithilā as an urban centre or, for that matter, any other significant town of this region. Even those who refer to Mithilā as a city have failed to locate it in the early medieval context.[46] Hence, it is difficult to accept Mithilā as an urban centre.

Campā, the capital of the Aṅga *mahājanapada*, was a prosperous urban settlement of the pre-A.D. 600 period. Possibly it emerged as a Jaina place of pilgrimage in the post-Gupta times but lost its urban nature, a point which is poignantly borne out by archaeological

excavations conducted at the site of this ancient settlement. In fact, the excavations suggest the desertion of the site after the Gupta peiod. Three cultural phases ranging from c. 200 B.C. to the post-Gupta times were recognised at this settlement. Period I, subdivided into three phases and covering the period from c. 200 B.C. to A.D. 300, yielded numerous evidence of meaningful habitation including a fortification, various types of pots, terracotta figurines, beads and iron and copper objects.[47] The Gupta phase, represented by Period II, also yielded relics including terracotta human and animal figurines, antimony beads and rods; structurally, however, the period betrays unmistakable signs of weakness. It was dominated by a shoddy wall of brickbats, besides similar other structures. Period III was, however, mainly represented by a dump of loose soil, and at the basal level some glazed sherds of the "medieval" period alongwith a coin of queen Victoria were encountered.[48] The evidence clearly suggests that the decline set in during the Gupta period and the site was ultimately abandoned in the post-Gupta times. Husan-tsang, who visited Champā, noticed that although there were several *tens* of *saṃghārāmas*, they were mostly in ruins.[49] On the basis of this combined testimony of contemporary literature and modern excavations it can be asserted that Campa was no longer an urban centre at the time of Haribhadra.

Haribhadra's description of Tāmralipti as a centre of trade seems to have been based on earlier traditions. In the earlier centuries it played a crucial role in India's eastern coastal maritime trade with Śrī Lankā and Malay peninsula. *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (1st century A.D.) refers to this port as 'Gange situated on the mouth of the Ganga, and suggests its intimate connection with the coasts of the peninsular India, Ceylon and the Far East.[50] In the 5th centruy A.D., the Chinese traveller, Fa-hsien, left for China on ship from Tāmralipti, touching on his way Ceylon and Jāvā. Hsuan-tsang also alludes to the port status of some kind of the place in the first half of the 7th century A.D., while in the second half of the same century another Chinese traveller, I-tsing, mentioned it as "a port on the coast of Eastern India," from where he sailed and arrived at Śribhoga (north-eastern side of Sumatra).[51] The continuity of Tāmralipti as a port with fluctuating fortunes for seven hundred years can hardly be doubted. But, at the same time, it should also be noticed that "we have hardly any substantial evidence to suggest the continuation of the port after the eight century A.D."[52] This point is amply borne but by the archaeological excavations carried out at the site till date. Period IV of the excavated site, covering the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta times, shows better signs of habitation than period V,

representing the post-Gupta times. While Period IV has yielded typical Gupta terracottas along with other relics, only pieces of sculptures are forthcoming from the Pala and Sena times.[53] Although the site seems to have remained in occupation for a pretty long time, its prosperity declined, a development also suggested by Hsuan-tsang's description of this place. The Chinese pilgrim fails to note any mercantile and commercial activity of the place,[54] implying a general loss of trade and consequent undermining of the urban status of the settlement.

A similar pattern of decline and desertion is noticeable at the two sites of Bihar, Kusumapura and Kaṇakapura or Kṣitipratiṣṭha, by the time of Haribhadra, in spite of his suggestions to the contrary. Kusumapura, which can be identified with ancient Pāṭaliputra, had emerged as a sprawling urban centre by the time of the Mauryas, though it had gained urban status even earlier during the reign of Udayin. Megasthenes describes its fortifications and lay-out in detail. The *Mahābhāṣya* also records that the city was prosperous and the citizens were regarded as more cultured than the citizens of cities like Sankisā.[55] On the other hand, the *Kathāsaritasāgara* refers to it as an important centre of learning.[56] Whereas it was still a significant town at the time of Fa-hsien's visit, it seems to have lost its urban status by the time Hsuan-Tsang came to this part of the country. The high water table and the location of the present city largely on the ancient settlement have not permitted lateral excavations here on any sizeable scale; only isolated sites have been dug up from time to time, apart from accidental and chance discoveries. But every excavation conducted at Kumrahar (modern Patna) and its vicinity suggests that the site started declining from the late Gupta period and this tendency became quite marked in the post Gupta times. The excavations bear out that the Maurya and the post-Maurya phases up to A.D. 300 were well represented, while the period from c. A.D. 300-600 marked a trend towards decline. While Spooner, in 1913-14, noted several instances of Gupta structures sagging downwards,[57] the excavations of 1951-55 exposed a structure, belonging to the period A.D. 300-450, which was in a dilapidated condition and constructed mainly of brickbats.[58] Although the stratum covering the period of A.D. 450-600 has yielded red ware of worse fabric and a few inscribed sherds in the Gupta character, other antiquities of the Gupta period are not forthcoming.[59] The site was continuously occupied from the Maurya period down to *c.* A.D. 600,[60] but most of the structures apparently belong to pre-Gupta and early Gupta times. A later excavation, which recognised three habitational phases indicates that while the first two phases (600-150 B.

C. and 150 B.C.-A.D. 500) were continuous, the third followed after a long habitational break.[61] This suggests that the city, which remained occupied till the Gupta period, was abandoned in the post-Gupta a times to be reoccupied on a meaningful scale in later medieval times. When Hsuen-tsang visited this area, he too found the city long deserted.[62] He noticed only the remains of the old foundation walls of the city. "The *sanghārāmas*, Deva temples, and *stūpas* which are in ruins may be counted by hundreds. There are only two or three remaining."[63] Seemingly the city of Pāṭaliputra had been completely ruined by the time of Hsuan-tsang's visit. It is difficult, therefore, to accept Haribhadra's description of Paṭaliputra as a town in the second half of the 8th and early 9th centuries A.D.

Kaṇakapura or Kṣitipratiṣṭha, identified with ancient Rājagṛha, was one of the earliest urban centres of ancient India. The place was the metropolis of the rulers of the Baimbaka family before the capital was transferred to Pāṭaliputra in the 5th century B.C. The city, however, gained in prominence because of its association with both Buddhism and Jainism, a fact recorded in numerous contemporary literary texts. The fortunes of the place, however, started dwindling from the time of Fa-hsien, who records its desolation, a development which is further confirmed by the accounts of Hsuan-tsang. The excavations carried out at this site also paint a similar picture. None of the excavations carried so far have succeeded in exposing any post-Gupta structure and only a single strucutre, *i.e.* Maniyar-Math, shows sings of enlargement in the late Gupta period.[64] Even the latest excavation carried out by A. Ghosh, suggesting a sequence of four periods ranging from pre 500 B.C. to 1st century A.D.,[65] failed to unearth any Gupta relic. Hsuan-tsang too explicitly refers to the decline of the city. He records, "The outer walls of the city have been destroyed, and there are no remnants of them left...".[66] He also noticed the ruined state of the inner city[67] and a neighbouring deserted village.[68] Haribhadra's description of the city as highly planned with obvious mercantile base and administrative pretensions is distinctly exaggerated and based on earlier traditional accounts of the city.

Haribhadra's description of Śrāvastī, on the borders of Gonda and Bahraich districts of Uttar Pradesh, as a commercial centre of the early medieval times seems to be equally hypothetical. No doubt, it was an important urban centre of ancient India with distinct associations with Buddhism, Jainism and commercial activities till the early centuries of the Christian era, but from the 4th century A.D. decline set in. Both Fa-hsien and Hsuan-Tsang refer to its decadence. Fa-Hsien noticed only

200 families at the place,[69] While Hsuan-tsang recorded the complete ruin of this erstwhile capital city.[70] Long ago Cunningham had suggested that Śrāvastī declined during the 4th century A.D., but he wrongly associated this development with the "fall of the Gupta dynasty in A.D. 319."[71] Though Cunningham's date for the end of the Gupta dynasty is absurd, yet his assertion about the decline of this city during the 4th century A.D. seems quite true. Recent excavations also indicate that the city lost its urban character by the beginning of the Gupta period.[72]

Referring to Hastinapura, Haribhadra does not provide us with details except for the cryptic categorisation of the settlement as a town. It was undoubtedly an important ancient Indian urban centre connected with the *Bharata* war. The contemporary literature referring to Hastināpura convey the image of a prosperous and well planned town, a town which was not only an important seat of political power but a centre of trade and cultural activities as well. But from the Gupta times the place started decaying, a development explicitly borne out by archaeological excavations. This site remained in occupation from pre-1200 B.C. to A.D. 300 except for an intervening break of approximately 50 years around *c.* 250 B.C. Period IV of the site (*c.* 200 B.C.-A.D. 300) had an exclusive red-ware industry with houses made of mostly burnt bricks. The layout of the houses clearly indicates a predilection for orientation approximately along the cardinal directions. The phase has yielded the coins of the kings of Mathurā, Yaudheyas and Kuṣāṇas, alongwith impressive copper and iron objects. Immediately after this prosperous phase of habitation the site seems to have been deserted and came to be reoccupied only from *c.* A.D. 1100.[73] Apparently Hastināpura, which was a flourishing city till the Kuṣāṇa period, came to be abandoned during the Gupta and post-Gupta times. This unassailable archaeological evidence goes contrary to Haribhadra's suggestion that Hastināpura was an urban centre in the 8th-9th centuries A.D.

While referring to Vārāṇasī and Thāneśvara, the *Samarāichchakahā* does not provide us with details pertaining to the nature of these urban settlements; in the latter case, the text even fails to provide informations regarding its location and identification. Vārāṇasī, which was the capital of Kāśī *mahājanapada* in the 6th century B.C., continued to remain a pretty important city till the Gupta period, being a centre of Buddhism, Brāhmaṇism and commercial activities in the Ganga basin. The ancient site of Vārāṇasī has been identified with the ruins of Rajghat[74] on the north-eastern outskirts of the present city of Banaras.

The excavations carried out at the site, however, suggest that the fortunes of Vārāṇasī were seriously affected after the Gupta period. Out of five structural phases identified at the site, period IV (c. A.D. 300-700), which had brick-built structures,[75] yielded only a few Gupta relics.[76] Structural activity, however, stopped in Period V (post c. A.D. 700)[77] and the material remains of the period betray unmistakable signs of poverty;[78] but the site remained in occupations till c. A.D. 1700.[79] It is indubitable that, in spite of its continuous occupation till the end of the later medieval times, the site lost its urban status after c. A.D. 700.[80] This may explain Hsuan-tsang's enthusiasm in describing the site. Moreover, Vārāṇasī did not go completely out of occupation and gradually it emerged as a major *tīrtha*. It, seems, however, certain that this transformation in the role and nature of the site, i.e. from politico-commercial to religious, seriously impaired its urban character in the post A.D. 700 period.

In the case of Thāneśvara, Haribhadra simply refers to it as an urban centre without giving any other information. The city, however, seems to have acquired fame during the reign of Harsavardhana. Hsuan-tsang refers to this place and records that "rare and valuable" objects from other lands were collected here; he makes a detailed reference to the religious ethos of this place.[81] This collection of "rare and valuable" objects has been projected as an evidence for the urban character of the place.[82] No doubt this reference suggests possible contacts with outside regions, but at the same time it should be borne in mine that an important feature of a feudal economy is the pattern of consumption, a point which may explain the emphasis on the collection of unproductive though rare and valuable objects.[83] Thus, one can not positively suggest a commercially viable existence of Thāneśvara. On the other hands, as the name of the place and its traditional association suggest, the site may have become a prominent religious centre of Northern India, and this might have helped the continuation of a singularly weak urban tradition at the place.

The above survey brings to the fore the hypothetical nature of references to "towns" in the *Samarāichchakahā*. Though the text refers to an imposing number of fifty-eight urban centres, most of them can not be even located and identified. Some of them, if one goes by this text itself, had absolutely no urban characteristics, while the rest fail to bear the scrutiny of other relevant sources. The loss of mercantile activities on a meaningful scale emerges as a universal phenomenon at these places and so also is the case with coins. The *Samarāichchakahā* exhibits its awareness of this development when it records instances of

bartering of commodities during the period.[84] In fact, this text, too, in spite of its hypothetical references to the contrary, makes it apparent that in the 8th-9th centuries A.D. the urban tradition had been severely constrained as a result of the feudalisation of the economic structure.[85]

The text refers to long distance trade in a number of *kathās*. Traders of one area have been described as visiting another area of the subcontinent. A merchant named Dharaṇa, a resident of the city Mākandī, went to Acalapura, sold his goods by earning a profit, spent some time in making other transactions in terms of the purchase and sale of local commodities, and finally returned with merchandise fit for trade at Mākandī.[86] The text records the mercantile connections of Amarapura with Lakṣmī Nilaya, Suśarma Nagara, Vairāta Nagara, etc.[87] Śrāvastī and Ujjayinī have beeen mentioned as centres of commercial activities visited by merchants from diferent directions.[88] Despite references to long distance internal trade, the *Samarāichchakahā* does not indicate the existence of an organised mercantile complex during the period. The stories mostly give the impression of isolated efforts being made by traders in an atmosphere that was not congenial for trade and commerce. References to caravan trade, instead of contradicting this suggestion, support it. The uncetainties and the hostile climate made it incumbent upon the traders to move in groups.[89] At one place in the text, the leader of the caravan, the *sārthavāha*, tells the fellow travellers, when they had gathered for the journey, the advantages of the route that he proposed to take and gave them a number of instructions for their guidance.[90] These are, as suggested earlier, scattered references to contemporary trading activities and by their very nature they suggest the absence of any organised all India trading network during this period. It is ironical to note that the text, despite numerous mentions of internal trading centres, is almost totally silent about the routes frequented by the merchants. Major trade routes of the pre-A.D. 600 phase are not known, a fact that may suggest a significant decline in trade as these roads had certainly fallen into disuse by this period.

The road conditions were also bad,[91] a fact that will suggest either the withdrawal from or lack of capacity of the political authority to control the situation. The traders were constantly threatened by robbers and the petty feudal lords.[92] "The physical dangers of long-distance traffic had considerably increased owing to the activities of professional robbers also during the early medieval period."[93] Significantly Hsuan-tsang, who came to India in the 7th century A.D., could not travel with such safety as Fa-hien, who had visited India in

the Gupta period. This is an indubitable commentary on the growing insecurity of the highways. Many texts of the period, e.g. the *Upamitibhavaprapañchakahā*, the *Kathāsaritasāgara*, the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākā-puruṣa-carita*, etc. describe the travelling merchants' fear of robbers.[94] The *Samarāichchakahā* also refers to such dangers pointedly. The Śabaras, who had taken to dacoity and violence,[95] often plundered the caravans, killed men and cows mercilessly, and captured people for high ransom.[96] Though the *Samarāichchakahā* does not contain many mentions of this group, yet it is certain that they, through their extremely violent and orthodox posture, created an atmosphere of insecurity in the regions of the Vindhyas and the Aravalis as well as near the other forest and hilly regions where they lived. Politically volatile, they created serious problems for the trade of the region. The story of Dharaṇa recounts the catastrophe graphically. The merchant, after earning huge profits, stopped in a forest on his return journey. The numbers of the caravan slept after arranging for the watch. The Śabaras attacked the caravan in the midnight, killed many merchants and looted their goods.[97] The political authority was too weak to do anything about it as we keep on getting similar references in other contemporary sources as well.

The *Samarāichchakahā*, true to the fractured nature of the urban economy that it is referring to, makes two casual mentions of items of trade.[98] The first list includes ivory, liquor, lac, *chanwara* and poison,[99] while the second names *dhana-dhānya*, *hiraṇya*, *suvarṇa*, *maṇi-muktā-pravāla*, *dvīpada* and *chatuṣpada*.[100] It is needless to mention that the items of the first list have nothing to do with the day-to-day requirements of the people. The same is also ture of the items of the second list. These are all highly priced luxury articles. The term *dhana-dhānya* may be interpreted as grain, but this will be possibly a misreading of the text. The term, occurring alongwith gold, gems, precious stones and birds and animals, does not signify grain but it refers to wealth in general. The non-utilitarian and luxury oriented nature of trade is clearly borne out if this list is compared with the list of commodities given by Nārada in the preceding period. The latter's list includes milk, sour milk, clarified butter, honey, bees-wax, lac, pungent condiments, liquids used for flavouring, spirituous liquor, meat, boiled rice, sesamum, juice of the soma plant, flowers, fruits, precious stones, men and women (as slaves), poison, weapons, salt, cakes, plants, garments, silk, skins, bones, blankets, animals, earthen pots, buttermilk, vegetable, ginger, herbs, dry wood, grass, fragrant substances, ingudi plant, cotton thread and articles of metal.[101] That

the *Samarāichchakahā* is describing an internal trade system that was besically luxury oriented is also corroborated by the huge margin of profits earned by the merchants engaged in it. Thus, Dharaṇa made an eightfold profit by selling his goods at Acalapura. But this was the beginning. His stay at the place for four months and involvement in the commercial transactions earned him more profit. The profits must have been multiplied many-fold if he would have safely returned to Mākandī with the commodities purchased at Acalapura.[102] This was a huge profit margin, something that was impossible to be earned in course of trade in utilitarian objects. The text, thus, indicates a sluggish trade mostly confined to luxury items.

The constricted nature of trade is reflected by an increasing emphasis on the localisation of commodity exchange. The *Samarāichchakahā*, frequently refers to the *haṭṭas*,[103] which were local centres of exchange. These places were decorated on special occasions, possibly during religious and community festivities. This may underline the periodical increse in their importance and may suggest their nature as fairs. That the itinerant traders visited these *haṭṭas* is apparent from the Pratihāra and the Paramāra records.[104] These were the centres of utilitarian commodity exchange and cotton, wheat, rice, butter, etc. could be procured from here.[105] These places were under the supervision of local chiefs and this may explain the proper arrangements made at such centres.[106]

The localisation of trade, adversely affected the external trade mechanism. The *Samarāichachakahā* informs us that the big merchants of the region used to trade with foreign countries[107] in the hope of earning greater profits.[108] They frequented the islands of Mahākaṭāha, Siṃhala, Suvaraṇa and Ratna besides China.[109] The basic *modus operandi* was to purchase the local goods and return to their country. At times, they also offere presents to the local kings to seek their permission and get a tax remission.[110] The story of Dhana informs us that one Nanda taking the presents went ashore to see the king when the ship reached Mahākaṭāha. The king was pleased and provided him the necessary hospitality to carry on trade in the area.[111] The same story also points out the importance of Mahākaṭāha,[112] *i.e.* Kedah in western Malaya, in contemporary trade mechanism of India. Other stories relate to the frequent visits of merchants to Suvarṇabhūmi.[113] A host of contemporary texts confirm the mecantile connections with Suvarṇabhūmi and Mahākaṭāha.[114] The contact with China does not seem to be uni-centred as the text refers to a sailor, Suvadana, coming from China and proceeding to Devapura *via* Suvarṇadvīpa.[115]

The stories of the *Samarāichchakahā*, besides outlining the difficulties involved in trade with China and South East Asia, focus on the locational centrality of Śrī Lankā in this trade mechanism. This place had a basic advantage in terms of the position of monsoon which made direct communication between Śrī Lankā and the Malaya straits possible since the beginnings of the Christian era. The itineraries of both Fa-hsien and I-tsing testify to this position.[116] Cosmos underlines its central position in the transit trade between the east and the west.[117] The *Samarāichchakahā* also records the daily sail of ships from Suvarṇabhūmi for Siṃhaladvīpa.[118] It was from Tāmralipti and Vaijayantī, the two big ports on the eastern coast of India, that the ships sailed to and from Śrī Lankā, Mahākaṭāha and China.[119] These references, however, need a reappraisal in the light of known historical facts. The text refers to trade with China but it is fairly certain that this trade was becoming marginal during the period. India is not included in the list of countries which, according to the Sung *Annals*, were trading with Canton in A.D. 971.[120] By the end of the 8th century A.D. China seized to play any meaningful role in India's external trade mechanism. The references to the two major ports in the *Samarāichchakahā*, Tāmralipti and Vaijayantī, do not help us much. While the first had decayed by the beginning of the 8th century A.D. the second is yet to be identified with any known port of the times. Obviously one is forced to conclude that these stories of the *Samarāichchakahā* can not be taken as portraying the true picture of contemporary foreign trade; they are heavily burdened with the traditional perception of such contacts. The references to South-East Aisa, however, seem to be more realistic. The text refers to the list of imports from this region, an information that is not forthcoming in the context of China. The items include camphor, areca-nuts, betel plants, sandal trees, *lavanga lavali*, coconut plantain, *panasa*, *piṇḍakharjūra*, *rājatālī*, *tamāla* and *mandāra*[121] besides blocks of gold marked with the names of the merchants carrying them.[122] The exports included pots of gold and jewels.[123] This becomes incomprehensible in the light of universal references to South East Asia, not India, as the land of gold. That the Indian merchants brought gold and precious gems from this region and transhipped them back to earn greater profits seems to be the only explanation, though admittedly not very plausible.

The weakened nature of Indian foreign trade is also apparent from weak technology of Indian shipping compared to that of the Arabs and the Chinese. The *Samarāichchakahā* illustrates this situation by recording that the ship sailing from Tāmralipti reached Suvernabhūmi

in two months.[124] Lallanji Gopal, basing his deductions on this evidence, rightly points out the speed limitations of the Indian ships and the fact that they lagged behind the Arab and the Chnese ships in this regard.[125] In comparison to the two months' taken by the Indian ship, the Chinese ship, as he suggests, took a month's time to reach Ku-lin (Quilon) from Lan-Li (extreme northwest coast of Sumātrā),[126] and an Arab ship also took the same time in reaching Kalash Bar (Kadeh) from Kūlam Mali (Quilon).[127] This suggestion has been rejected by V. K. Jain on purely hypothetical grounds,[128] though he himself admits the dominance of these non-Indian groups in the field.[129]

The medium of exchange, as occasionally hinted at in the *Samarāichchakahā*, also points to the limited nature of the contemporary urban economy. The *dināra* has been mentioned in the text,[130] but these references do not relate to either any actual purchase or sale nor to a valuation of commodities. These are invariably mentioned as a measure of wealth[131] indicating the conventional nature of these references. The next also refers to *soḍaṣasuvaṇṇa*,[132] but the non-prevalence of gold coins during the period is too well known a fact of Indian history to require any comment in the present context. Despite these references, the system of barter seems to have been the basis of the exchange mechanism. The text frequently tells us about merchants visiting distant parts of the country and exchanging their own merchandise with the wares of those regions.[133] The same system operated at the *haṭṭas* as well. The references to coins in the text, therefore, sounds conventional and in tune with similar mentions in the contemporary inscriptions. The reversal to barter system, as illustrated by the text, is indicative of languishing trade and declining urban tradition; the developments when viewed in their totality reflect the feudal *milieu* of the times.

The *Samarāichchakahā*, no doubt refers to urban centres and mercantile activities, but the nature of such literary references needs to be properly appreciated before constructing contemporary urbanism. It has baeen pointed out by B.N.S. Yadav that literary depictions of cities in the Gupta and post-Gupta times become almost conventional.[134] "In the description of Ujjayinī in the *Pādatāḍitakam* (*c.* 6th-7th century A.D.), the *Kadāmbarī* (7th century), and the *Navasāhāsankacarita* (10th century), of Kuṇḍinapura in the *Nalacampū* (10th century) and the *Naiṣadhīyacarita*, of Rāmāvatī in the *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākara Nandī, of Pravarapura in the *Vikramākadevacarita* of Bilhaṇa, of Ajmer in the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*, and of Aṇahillapura, or Anhilvaḍā, in the

Kumārapālacarita and *Kīrtikaumudī*, one can notice to some extent the same conventional type of approach.[135] References to trade and currency system, as borne out by the analyses of textual mentions, also seem to have been influenced by a similar style of conventionalisation and repetition. The early medieval texts, composed during a period devoid of either significant commericial activities or strong urban tradition, drew its motifs from earlier texts.

The nature of commercial economy illustrated in the *Samarāichchakahā* is in correspondence with the context of the text. The late 8th and the early 9th centuries A.D. represent the mature phase of Indian feudal formation, a development that finds distinct echoes in the text. The administrative structure, as constructed on the basis of scattered references in the text, contains strong feudal elements. The *sāmanta* system is fairly well-known. The *sāmantas* were subservient to the kings[136] and have been called, at least once in the text, as tax-paying rulers.[137] They had their own armies and forts.[138] Even the *sāmanta* group was hierarchical in composition. The *Samarāichchakahā* refers to the *mahāsāmantas* who were the masters of numerous *sāmantas* and very close to the king.[139] This text contains one of the earliest mentions of the term *ṭhakkura* in western India,[140] a fact that underlines its feudal traits. It is pertinent to note in this context that R. S. Sharma takes *ṭhakkura* as a common feudal epithet that was "applied indiscriminately to officials of different castes and categories."[141] Significantly in the feudal society the caste was not the only status determinant as, at times, the caste considerations come to be superseded by the feudal ranks. the *Samarāichchakahā*, obviously familiar with this new change in social hierarchy, informs that even a lowly placed aboriginal Śabara, after becoming a *sāmanta*, was accepted as *sambandhin*, or kinsman, by the family members of the overlord and other *samantas*.[142] The text also refers to the lord-vassal relationship. Thus, while extending help to his Śabara vassal, king Kumārasena declares, "He has become my liegeman. Hence even though he has been doing reprehensible things, I cannot be indifferent when he engages himself in fight."[143] The text also introduces an element of paternalism in the lord vassal nexus as Guṇacandra says to Vigraha, a vassal of his father Maitribala, "You are liegeman of my father. Hence you are my elder borther."[144]

In tune with the feudal polity of the times, the council of ministers was gaining in power *vis-a-vis* the king. Besides advising the king, they also supervised judicial administration.[145] That the council of ministers as well as the bureaucracy admitted of hierarchical structure

is evident from the currency of designations like *mantrin*,[146] *mahāmantrin*,[147] *amātya*,[148] *pradhāna amātya*,[149] *sachiva*[150] and *pradhāna sachiva*.[151] Even the military structure seems to have been feudalised. The *sāmantas* and the *mahāsāmantas* not only kept their own armies but also helped their overlords in case of war.[152] References to the *Pañcakula*[153] suggest weakening of the central authority on the one hand and the rise of local unites of administration on the other. Thus, numerous references to the feudatory system, growing powers of the council of ministers, lord-vassal relationship, feudal ranks determining social status, graded system of bureaucracy, feudalisation of the military structure and the emergence of local units of administration are sufficient indicators of feudal structure that the *Samarāichchakahā* is contextually rooted in.

The above survey focuses upon an interesting aspect of early medieval India. It lays bare the dynamics of feudal formation during the period. The indubitable feudal context of the *Samarāichchakahā* has a distinct bearing on the nature of economy emerging from the descriptions of the text. Towns are referred to but in a typical conventional manner. Trade and currency system assume an ambivalent nature. The descriptions are primarily stereotype. They clearly testify to a weakened urban economic complex and this is in consonance with the feudal complex that had crystallised by that time.

NOTES

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33. *PuruṣaParīkṣā* (Pathaka), 76, 103,112,114,118.

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36. *Ibid.*, 164
37. *Ibid.*, 174.
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39. *Ibid.*, 87.
40. *Ibid.*, 13, 201, 202.
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44. *Ibid.*, 61.
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80. On the basis of this continuity in occupation, B.D. Chattopadhyaya declines to accept the undermining of urban tradition of Vārāṇasī; he, however, completely ignores the unassailable archaeological evidence relating to the stoppage of architectural activities and the non-availability of meaningful material. remains at the site from c. A.D. 700 'Trade and Urban Centres in Early Medieval North India', *The Indian Historical Review*, Vo. 1, No. 2, p. 217).
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87. *Ibid.*, III, p. 172; IV, pp. 240-241, 256, 261, 285, 287.
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89. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 242, VI, pp. 504, 509, 511-512, 535, 537, 553-555; VII, pp. 656, 658, 666-667, 672.
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92. B. N. S. Yadav, *Society and Culture in Northern India in the Twelfth Century*, Allahabad, 1971, pp. 271-272.
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103. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 260; VII, pp. 714-717; IX, p. 858.
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105. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 48. This *hatta* was managed by a *maṇḍala* (*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1936-37, p. 91).
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107. *Ibid.*, V, p. 498.
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145. *SK*, IV, pp. 257-258, 258-259, 262.
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148. *Ibid.*, II, p. 146, III, p. 196; etc.
149. *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 693-694, 694-695.
150. *Ibid.*, III, p. 196; IX, p. 881.
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Equivalent Views about the Ultimate Reality in Jainism and Buddhism

Prem Suman Jain

The main aim of the religions of India is to liberate one's soul for ever from the sorrows of the life. Therefore they can be seen to make efforts for the realisation of the 'Summum Bonum'. One can experience happiness in the state of full freedom and in going from the sphere of ignorance to the sphere of knowledge. Therefore, by self-perception the Indian philosophers try to inspire us to know about the ultimate reality, which is absolutely free from Karmic bondages and in which there is absence of all kinds of sorrow. In Jainism and other Indian religions this kind of supreme reality has been described by different names. Among these names Mokṣa (salvation), Nirvāṇa (the final result of the extinction of the desire), Parmātman (the supreme soul), Brahman (the transcendental reality) are more popular. In order to know of the equivalent views about the ultimate reality in Jainism and Hinduism, it is essential to think about the nature of Ātman (soul or self), Mokṣa (salvation) and Parmātman (Supreme soul). The key to know all universe through the reality of soul is given in the ancient scriptures.[1] Who knows the soul is the knower of all universe. The knowledge of the reality of the being and non-being is the state of liberation and the liberated soul is known as ultimate reality, supreme soul and Brahman (the unitary Absolute postulated by the Vedānta) etc.

The concept of the supreme element has been developed as an ideal of moral and spiritual life. Nearly in all religions of India the importance of the Supreme Deity has been recognised. In spite of the differences in its names the nature of the 'Supreme Deity' is more or less the same. Therefore, one Jaina poet says that one who is worshipped by Śaivas as 'Śiva' called as 'Brahman' by the Vedantists, 'Buddha' by the Buddhists, 'Kartā' by the Naiyāyikas, 'Arhant' by the followers of Jainism and 'Karma' by the Mimāṃsakas who is known as the lord of the universe and 'Hari', should bestow on us the desired results.[2]

Ācārya Abhinavagupta has expressed the same view. According to him, differences of opinion exist among the Indian philosophers about the names of the supreme being but there is no difference about its main characteristics. In other scriptures of Hinduism the same view has been expressed.[3] A majority of the Indian philosophers admit that real knowledge about this supreme authority, the supreme soul or the transcendental reality is gained after attaining salvation.

Similarities Relating to Salvation

The development of the nature of the concept of salvation in the Indian religions has been gradual. Cārvāka has treated the end of the body as salvation. The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, Pūrva Mīmāṃsā and Vaibhāṣika schools have recognised separation of adventitious qualities—consciousness and pleasure etc., as salvation. The Sautrāntika Buddhists have called the negation of the expressions of power as 'Nirvāṇa' or salvation. The Sāṃkhyas define salvation as the gaining of knowledge about the real nature of the power and state of consciousness as 'Kevalya' or salvation. They do not recognise the element of pleasure in it. Jaina philosophers are of the view that gaining knowledge of the real nature of the soul is salvation. In this state the liberated soul is the master of infinite knowledge, infinite faith, infinite bliss and infinite power. Such free souls are infinite. According to the Vedānta philosophy the free soul after attaining similarity to the God submerging itself into Brahman (Transcendental Reality) and feels as one with the God. In the enjoyment of knowledge and happiness the free soul is like the God. In the Vedānta philosophy of Śaṅkara the free soul is identified with the transcendental reality. A close analysis of the process of the liberation of the soul in these different philosophies reveals that almost all of them have regarded self-realization gained after overcoming ignorance necessary for the liberation of the soul. And they have also admitted the end of sorrows and freedom from the circle of births and rebirths.[4]

Among the various Indian philosophies almost all the thinkers have accepted in one form or another the concepts of liberation in this very life after realising truth (*jīvanmukti*) and liberation after death (*videhamukti*). In the tradition of *Gītā* and Vedānta the complete conquest of attachment and the end of the physical body of such a mendicant is treated as disembodied liberation. In the Buddhist philosophy after complete destruction of cravings the *sopādiśeṣanirvāṇadhātu* is gained and *anupādiśeṣanirvāṇadhātu* is gained only after death.[5] The Jaina philosophers call the extinction of attachment, aversion etc., as

the spiritual freedom (*bhava-mokṣa*) and the liberation after death as absolute emancipation (*dravya-mokṣa*). The soul which attains the above two stages are known as Sayogakevalin (liberated soul with activities) and Ayogakevlin (liberated soul free from all activities) respectively. In *Gītā* the state of liberation in this very life is called *sthitprajña* and in Vedānta it is named the individual soul (*jīvātman*). In Buddhist philosophy a living being who secures liberation in his own life is known as 'Arhat', 'Kevali', 'Upśānta' etc. In Jaina philosophy such souls gaining spiritual freedom are known as 'Arhat', 'Vitarāga' and 'Kevali' etc. All such liberated souls are regarded to be free from attachment—aversion, bearer of equanimity and destroyer of the cycle of birth and rebirth. After this stage, the liberated soul which has completely freed itself from deeds (*karmas*) and which has foresaken all its worldly pleasures and the body is known as 'The Supreme Soul' (*paramatman*) in *Gītā*, transcendental reality (*brahman*) in Vedānta, Buddha and 'Nirvāṇa' in Buddhism and 'Siddha' and 'Paramātmā' in Jainism. At this stage the identities of the mendicants and the object of mendicancy is merged into one.[6] In this stage there is no distinction between the knower, knowledgeable objects and knowledge. The soul gaining this absolute emancipation becomes the object of devotion, God and supreme soul for other mendicants. In *Samādhiśataka*, a Jaina scripture, the liberated soul is regarded as self-willed (*svatantra*), perfect (*paripūrṇa*), supreme being (*parmeśvara*), undestructive (*avinaśvara*), highest (*sarvocca*), paramount (*sarvotama*) infinitely pure (*paramaviśuddha*) and eternal soul[7] (*nirañjana*). Generally the same or similar terms have been used for God or the supreme soul. Thus it appears that in the beginning the Indian scholars after experiencing the power of nature, king, brave person, religious head etc. might have called them God. But later on thinkers, who laid emphasis on meditation and knowledge gave the names of salvation (*mokṣa*), supreme soul (*parmātmā*), god of gods (*devādideva*), transcendental reality (Brahman) etc. to the completely liberated soul.

Importance of the Supreme Soul

Many Hindu philosophers have propounded several reasons for the necessity of worshipping a God. In Vedic philosophy the supreme soul is described as the fruit of the Vedas which are like trees.[8] In the Upaniṣads God is recognised as the controller of the whole of the universe.[9] God, which is like the life of the universe, is also called the transcendental reality (*brahman*). In Pūrva-Mīmaṃsā only words of Vedas are treated as God. Therefore, in it the Vedic hymns are bestowed

with godliness. In Sāṃkhya and Yoga philosophies fruits of deeds (*karmas*) are supreme. Therefore, in these philosophies God is recognised as an object of worship but not as the giver of the fruits of one's deeds. In the Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika and Vedānta philosophies the need of God is recognised in the form of an organiser of the world and controller of deeds. In *Gītā* both the forms of God are recognised. God is above the laws of deeds (*karmas*) and is compassionate towards the devotees.[10] But in this scripture it has also been advocated that God does not control deeds and their fruits. The law of deeds are automatically regulated.[11]

Jaina philosophy does not recognise God as the controller of deeds because by admitting this the theory of law of deeds and power of God both become less significant. Therefore, in the Jaina philosophy the soul is regarded as the performer of the deeds as well as one who enjoys their fruits and the same soul by detaching itself from the deeds becomes supreme being. Thus the controller of deeds and the God are two stages of the soul.[12] In the *Gītā* God has also been regarded as an ideal of morality and worthy of reverence. A supreme soul which is absolutely devoid of attachment and aversion (*vītarāga)*, free from any wish (*niṣkāma*), omniscient (*sarvajña*), and omnipotent (*sarvaśaktimāna*), is the moral ideal of the Gītā. The same supreme soul (*parmātman*) absolutely devoid of attachment and aversion (*vītarāga*) potentially having four virtues—infinite knowledge, infinite perception, infinite power and infinite excellence—is also the ideal of Jaina ethics.[13] Both the *Gītā* and the Jaina philosophy recognise that perfection in moral life is only reached by becoming equal to God. Thus God is the highest authority and of the highest value.[14]

World Creation and Supreme Reality

In various ancient philosophies of India the concept of the supreme reality is connected with the concept of creation of the world. The different concepts relating to the creation of world and God can be classified in three categories. Firstly, the supreme soul of the transcendental reality is regarded as eternal and infinite. From nothingness the elements of the universe have been created. Therefore, God is the creator. The second set of philosophers maintain that worldly elements cannot be created out of nothingness. According to them living and non-living elements are not created by anybody. Their existence has no beginning. Creation and destruction of the forms of these elements are in the hands of some super being who is God. Consequently God is regarded as an organiser.

The third group of philosophers believe that neither living beings nor non-living beings were created by anybody and are also not controlled by any supreme authority. In their opinion there are automatic changes in the qualities and nature of the elements, and the world is being regulated and will be regulated by them. Hence there is no need to recognise God as creator, controller and destroyer of the world. Jaina philosophers are prominent among those who believe in this theory. On the basis of the basic texts of Jainism the views of Jaina thinkers relating to ultimate reality and the objects of its worship are discussed here in somewhat more details.

Jaina religion has discussed scientifically the form of the universe. The world is formed of six substances—soul (Jīva), matter (Pudgala), principles of motion (Dharma), principles of rest (Adharma), space (Ākāśa), and time (Kāla). These six substances form the world by their composition.[15] Thus the universe has no beginning and no end. It is infinite. Therefore, there is nothing like God who creates or destroys this universe. The changes occur in the substances automatically. So substance is eternal with reference to its qualities and non-eternal due to its modifications. Jaina philosophers have described substance (Dravya) with quality (Guṇa) and mode (Paryāya). According to Jaina point of view any existent (Sat) must be seen on three levels: firstly, the modes, which last only a moment and belong to the qualities; secondly, the qualities, which undergo changes and yet are inherent for ever in their substances; and thirdly the substance, which remains the abiding common ground of support for the qualities and their modes. Out of these six substances soul is living and other five are non-living. Therefore, basically in the creation and continuation of the world these two substances—soul and matter—are primary.

The soul has to pass through various stages because of the findings born of the combination of the two principal substances—soul and matter. The soul has to pass through many stages and experiences—good and bad. It is called worldly life. If the process of the combination of soul and matter is obstructed and the bindings born of their combination are destroyed, then soul may reach its pure and free position. This is salvation of the soul. There are seven fundamentals controlling the whole process of worldly life and salvation. They are—soul (Jīva), Matter (Ajīva), inflow of fresh *karmic* matter (Āsrava), Karmic bondage (Bandha), checking of Karmic matter (Saṃvara), shedding of Karmic matter (Nirjarā) and liberation (Mokṣa).[16] With the addition of two more fundamentals of sins and virtues (Pāpa and Puṇya) there are nine fundamentals known to Jaina philosophy. According to Jaina philoso-

phy the ultimate goal of soul is the salvation. It is the final stage and it is the ultimate aim of each and every religious person. For this, self-realization and meditation with some code of conduct are prescribed in Jaina philosophical literature. In a nutshelll it is the essence of Jaina philosophy. All the characteristics and conduct of Jaina religion are related to it.

According to Jaina ethics every living being is himself responsible for bearing the fruit of his good or evil deeds. It is the rule of nature in practical life also that the seed decides the kind of fruit. Jaina philosophy has reflected that one gets happiness by doing good deeds and sorrow by doing evil deeds. Therefore, man should have good intention in mind. He should speak sweet words and do good work. Self is free and competent to do so. Self is the real cause of sorrow and joy. It is clearly pointed out in the *Uttarādhyayanasūtta* that

> Appā kattā vikattā ya duhāṇa ya suhāna ya/
> Appā mittamamittaṃ ca duppaṭṭio supattio//

(My own self is the doer and undoer of misery and happiness, my own self is friend and foe, according to as I act well or badly).[17]

From the propounding of Jaina *karma* theory it has become very clear that self is the only centre of good and evil action. Basically Self is the centre of infinite powers. Knowledge and consciousness are its basic qualities. But the veil of *karmas* hides its pure form. Jaina ethics affirms that the ultimate goal of a person should be to attain this pure form of the Self. Then this Self becomes absolute. According to Jaina philosophy the power of manifestation of Self into absolute is in the man itself, because man has wish, determination and intellect. Therefore, he can act independently. Thus the main originator of worldly process and spiritual advancement is none but man himself. According to the Jaina view all the souls stand alike potentially. They have the quality to become absolute but these qualities can be fully attained in human life alone, because self- control and virtuous actions are possible in human life only. Thus whatever elevation has been given to mankind by Jaina ethics is superb. In other words, "Only man is capable of unfolding his potential attributes perfectly. To express it differently, though every soul is potentially divine, yet the attainment of freedom is rendered possible only when the soul achieves a human form; hence the importance of human birth".[18]

Because of this excellence of man in Jaina religion, God having all worldly powers becomes quite unimportant. According to Jaina view

no one can ever become God who has any desire left like creation or destruction of the world. It is out of the reach of any superman that it can change the form of any matter and can cause joy or sorrow to any person. Because each matter is qualitative and independent. Nature functions in its own way. It is guided by its own rules. A person gets joy and sorrow according to his acts and potential power. Therefore, Jaina ethics negates that type of existence of God, which Prophet Mohammad has in Islam and Jesus Christ has in Christian religion. The all powerful God of Hindu religion is also not accepted by Jaina religion because it encroaches upon the liberty and potential power of man.[19]

Like the Jainas, the Sāṃkhya philosophers have also accepted the denial of the role played by God in the creation of the world. Even philosophers like Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and Prabhākara Miśra do not accept God as the creator because they believe that the world is beginningless. The Jaina and the Mīmāṃsakas have put forward similar arguments about the denial of God as the creator of the world.[20] In the works of the early Vaiśeṣikas there is also denial of the concept of God. In the *Yogasūtra* of Patañjali and *Nyāyasūtra* of Gautama, God has been visualised as an ascetic (Yogi), free from the eighteen defects and blemishes (*āpta*), and omniscient (*sarvajña*) etc. In Jaina philosophy also a liberated soul is regarded as parmātman, āpta, sarvajña etc. Thus from a close scrutiny of the beliefs of different philosophers of Jainism and Hinduism about ultimate reality it transpires that all of them have expressed almost similar views.

Though Jaina religion negates the existence of God who causes creation and destruction, still Jaina ethics accept the existence of that pure form of soul which has become enlightened because of its excellent qualities. Jaina religion has recognised a number of such enlightened souls who have been called 'Arhat' and 'Siddha'. They have realized the real form of self by winning over senses. D.N. Bhargava rightly observes that "these Siddhas are far more above gods or deities. They neither create nor destroy any thing. They have conquered once for all, their nescience and passion and cannot be molested by them again".[21] These Arhats and Siddhas are also known as Āpta (free from the eighteen kinds of defects and blemishes), Sarvajña (an omniscient being), Vītarāgī (free from passion), Kevalī (attained highest knowledge), Parmātman (the highest soul), Parameṣṭhin (the supreme divinity) etc. Jaina ethics has the provision of worshipping such Arhats and Siddhas but from them one cannot obtain any material benefit. They are worshipped for attaining their spiritual qualities for which the worshipper has to do penance himself.[22] A person's feelings get purified

gradually from this worship. It purifies his actions continually.

The Self of man is under a gradual process of development. There are three kinds of souls according to Jaina ethics:[23] (i) The outer-self (*bahirātman*) which remains involved in worldly affairs taking body to be the soul, (ii) the inner-self (*antarātman*) which understands the difference between body and soul and tries to attain the form of soul leaving the attachment of the body and (iii) the enlightened soul (*parmātman*) which has known and realized the real form of soul. It is full of infinite knowledge and joy. Ācārya Kundakunda, a Jaina philosopher, had advocated this view first and it was then developed by other Jaina thinkers.[24] In Hinduism also the nature of the development of the soul has been described by different names. The Upaniṣads classified the soul in three forms: *jñānātman, mahadātman* and *suddhātman*. More than once the Upaniṣadic passages distinguish the body from the soul. The distinction of *jivātman* and *parmātman* has also been clearly made in later Hindu texts.

Names and Virtues of the Supreme Element

In the Jaina philosophy the liberated soul is regarded as the supreme being. In accordance with its different stages and virtues it is known by the names of Arhanta, Siddha, Kevalī, Jina, Tirthaṅkara, Āpta, Sarvajña, Parmātman, Vītarāga etc. In all these names the main attributes are the same i.e. they are devoid of all sorrows on account of being in a liberated stage. Several ancient scriptures describe one thousand and eight virtues of the liberated soul.[25] Among these four main virtues—infinite knowledge, infinite perception, infinite power and infinite excellence—are prominent.[26] On making a comparison of these virtues we know that according to Hindu philosophy God or transcendental reality or the supreme soul possesses virtues of knowledge, power, excellence, virility, energy and glory.[27] It is because a God devoid of virtues cannot be worshipped. In the western philosophy also God is imbibed with several virtues. God is omnipotent, omniscient, completely knowledgeable, free-willed, eternal, auspicious and has a personality. Although statements about the virtues of God are non-cognitive[28] even then in Indian philosophies God is vested with uncountable virtues. In Jaina philosophy also several miraculous powers are ascribed to the 'Tirthaṅkaras'.[29] In some Jaina scriptures the description of the virtues of the supreme soul is viewed from a negative aspect. The liberated soul is neither heavy, nor light, nor black, nor white, nor long, nor short, nor female, nor male

and nor a eunuch.[30] Therefore, the nature of the supreme soul is indefinable. The doctrine of negation advocated by Śaṅkara and the doctrine propounded by Thomas Aquinas,[31] a western philosopher, are similar to the doctrine of negation advocated in the Jaina philosophy. From this we can infer that the meaningfulness of the virtues and names of the supreme being lies in admitting it in a symbolic way. It gives strength for expressing equivalent views about ultimate reality. In the Jaina philosophy it is believed that from the transcendental point of view the supreme soul is purely conscious. From the empirical point of view it is possible to describe the virtues of the supreme soul. We worship the supreme soul through different symbols. These symbols are meant for having a self-realization of virtues vested in the supreme soul. Umāsvamī has rightly said: " I bow to the Lord who is the leader of the path of liberation, the destroyer of the mountains of *karmas* and the knower of the whole of reality, so that I may realise those qualities". Paul Tillich, a western philosopher, also regards the supreme power as colourless, pure and is like a white curtain. It can be perceived but is impossible of description.[32]

Names used for the supreme element are similar in the Jain and Hindu religions: Lord of the universe, supreme knower, one who eliminates sorrows, (Hari or Hara), transcendental reality (*brahman*) and best among souls (*puruṣottama*). Several other hundreds of such names used for the supreme element in Hinduism are also used for the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras. However, all such names are represented as symbols. According to Jain traditions *Brahman* is one by the remembrance of which virtues are increased; a soul which has observed complete celibacy (*brahmacarya*) is the supreme Brahman; a soul which is imbued with excellence of supreme knowledge (*kevala-Jñāna*) etc., is God. A soul which detaches itself from the fruits of all deeds and imbibes the greatness of eight virtues is the supreme soul, the merger of soul in its body becomes Viṣṇu, and because it is responsible for its own development it is self-developed (*svayambhū*).[33] In the *Ādipurāṇa* Ṛṣabhadeva, the first Tirthaṅkara of the Jains, has been adored with the titles of Hiraṇayagarbha, (Golden Germ), Prājapāti (Lord of the people), etc. These titles indicate several virtues of Ṛṣabhadeva. Similarly in the Hindu scriptures among the thousand names of Viṣṇu many names of Tīrthaṅkaras are included. Hence in the analysis of the supreme power a process of reconciliation is discernible in the religious literature of the Hindus and Jainas. But in spite of the above similarities in the names of the supreme soul in both the religions there are some differences. But the names are insignificant here, and virtues are considered important.

Therefore one Jaina saint says:

> Let me always salute him who is free from blemishes of anger, hatred etc., which haunt the mind like poison, who is full of compassion and who has perfected himself by all virtues, whether he is called by the name of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Brahmā, Devendra, Sun, Moon, Bhagavān or Buddha.[34]

Paths towards Attainment of Supreme Being

In Jaina and Hindu religions similarities do not exist only in the characteristics, virtues and names of the supreme being, but also in attaining its status and in the ways of experiencing it. In Jaina religion, the way of spiritual practice has been shown by describing the form of universe through metaphysical analysis and raising the determination and potential for working by advancing the Karmic theory. It is the principal features of Jaina ethics that Jainācārya Umāswāmī has called these three rights—right faith, right knowledge and right conduct (together) which constitute the path to liberation:

Samyag-darśana-jñāna-cāritrāni mokṣa-margaḥ.

These three have been called three jewels because of their prominence in the way of salvation. These three are interdependent and interrelated.[35] Right knowledge is the first state of spiritual practice. Having faith in the form of seven fundamentals as described by Jina (spiritual victor) is called right faith. It modifies the view of man. After attaining the right faith an aspirant gets right knowledge. When he knows those elements fully, in which he has faith, he attains right knowledge. In fact the knowledge of the form of body and mind of living or non-living beings is right knowledge. In Jaina ethics this knowledge is specially important because on the basis of this, the conduct of man is predicted. Jaina philosophy has proclaimed very liberally that Truth is not bound by the limits of a man, caste, religion or country. The subject of right knowledge is an attempt to know the various dimensions of Truth by giving due honour to its absoluteness. The basis of Jaina ethics is right conduct. In Jaina scriptures conduct has been described keeping in view the life of monks and householders. The main object of the conduct prescribed for monks is self-realization

whereas in the conduct of householders the development of man and society is also included.[36] Similarly the assimilation of detachment and attachment is there in Jaina ethics.

Like the Jaina religion other Indian philosophies have also advocated the threefold path for the attainment of the status of the supreme element. According to the Buddhist philosophy salvation (*nirvāṇa*) can be attained by observing the virtues of character (*śīla*), meditation (*samādhi*) and wisdom (*prajñā*). In *Gītā* the paths of knowledge (*jñānayoga*), good deeds (*karmayoga*) and devotion (*bhaktiyoga*) are considered paramount. The path of hearing (*sravaṇa*), cogitation (*manana*) and deep meditation (*nididhyāsana*)[37] is intimately related to the path of faith, knowledge and character advocated in Jainism. Some Western scholars have also recognised this threefold path for attaining the status of the supreme soul. 'Know thyself', 'Accept thyself' and 'Be thyself' are the three moral doctrines advocated by them.[38] By discovering similarities in these paths propounded by different religions one can have a glimpse of the similarities in the nature of the supreme power and also in experiencing it. Because in the end no difference exists between aspirant, path of devotion or the object of attainment. Jainism tells us that the soul is itself knowledge, faith and conduct. When it appears in its purest form it is known as supreme soul. At this stage the differences between the knower, (*jñātā*), knowledge (*jñāna*) and objects of knowledge (*jñeya*) cease to exist. The ideal of *brahmvid brahmaiva bhavati* becomes a reality. Dr. Radhakrishnan has called it 'the religion of the supreme spirit.' Pūjyapāda, a Jaina philosopher, has explained the status of the supreme power in this manner—"Whatever is supreme soul is myself and whatever is myself is the supreme soul. I am a devotee to myself and nobody else."[39] Śaṅkara has described the status of this purest nature of the supreme soul in the following verse:

> *Na bandhurnamitraṃ gururṇeva śiṣyam/*
> *saccidānandarūpaḥ Śivohaṃ Śivohaṃ//*

Conclusion

Thus the conception of God in Jaina and Hindu religions is integrated with the conceptions of soul (*ātman*), salvation (*mokṣa*) and supreme soul (*parmātman*). The object of attaining the status of supreme being is determined after knowing the real nature of these three conceptions. In both the religions the supreme reality is in the form of an ideal for the fulfilment of moral values. From the empirical point of view God

may be seen as the creator of the world, its organiser and compassionate towards living being but for the state of transcendentalism God is pure consciousness, highest knowledge and is full of pleasure. The different names of the supreme reality are more or less the same in both the religions and wherever the differences in the names are visible, there both the religions agree about these symbols of virtues which are depicted in them. There can be differences in the numbers of such virtues in these two religions but the fundamental virtues of the supreme soul are more or less similar. The supreme soul is devoid of all sorrows. It is conscious supreme knower and full of pleasure. It does not entangle itself again in the bondages of the world by leaving its status of supreme reality. In the manner there are similarities in the ways and means of attaining the status of supreme soul, differences exist only in names of the paths. Through devotion a worldly being uses the concept of supreme element for his spiritual development so that one day a similar status, that of God, may be obtained by it.

The moral ideals, which are followed in this path of purifying the soul, are also useful for the preservation of humanity and the welfare of the living beings. When the Hindu religion reaches the stage of spiritualism-rooted religion from devotion-rooted doctrines it comes near Jainism. The concept of the supreme element and the paths of attaining this status bring the two religions closer to each other. But in the observance of ethical values and devotion etc. both these religions have their separate identities. Efforts to foresake the feelings of pride and attachment, having liberal views for not insisting on any worldly statement, leaving the habit of conserving articles for personal comforts and emphasising the need of preserving the all living beings for social harmony are those values of humanity which can maintain peace and proper balance in the world. Both Jainism and Hinduism inspire mankind for the observance of these virtues and values. By observing this type of life and views the path of attaining the status of ultimate reality is enlightened. It may be concluded that where equivalent views exist about the conceptions of salvation and its paths etc., in Indian religions as well as in other religions of the world, these should be known and propagated for the welfare of mankind. Wherever there are differences of opinion on such philosophical thinkings these should not be rigidly insisted upon. It may help in exploring the ultimate truth.

NOTES

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2. *Hanumānanāṭakaṃ*, 1.3.
3. (a) *Bhagavad Gītā*, 11.28 (Gorakhpur, Geeta Press, 1962).
   (b) *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*, 3.2.8 (Gorakhpur, Geeta Press, 1959).
4. A. K. Lad, *Bhāratīya Darśanoṅ Men Mokṣa-Cintana: ek Tulanātmaka Adhyayana* (Bhopal, M.P. Hindi Granth Academy, 1973), pp. 297-298.
5. *Itibuttaka*, 2.7.
6. (a) *Samayasāra Ṭīkā* (Amṛtacandra), 305 (Bombay,Rayacandra Sastramala, 1962).
   (b) *Yogaśāstra* (Hemacandra), 4.5 (Ed.) Muni Samdarsi (Agra, Sanmati Jnanpeeth, 1963).
7. *Samādhisataka* (Pujyapāda), V.6 (Delhi, Vira Sevamandira, 1963).
8. *Ṛgveda*, 10.71.5 (Bareli, Sanskritisansthan, 1962).
9. *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, 6.1 (Gorakhpur, Gita Press, 1961).
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11. *Ibid.*, 5.13.
12. *Śāstravārtāsamuccaya* (Haribhadrasuri), 207, (Ahmedabad, L.D. Institute, 1968).
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15. P.S. Jaini, *The Jaina Path of Purification* (Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1979), pp. 89-106.
16. *Tattvārthasūtra*, Ch. 1.4,(Ed.)—Sukhlal Samghavi (Varanasi, P.V., 1952).
17. *Uttarādhyayaanasūtra*, Ch. 20, Gāthā 37 (Tr. H Jacobi, in *Jaina Sutra* Part—2, (New York, Dover Pub., 1968), Reprinted, p. 104.
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23. *Kārtikeyānuprekṣā*, Ed. Upadhye (Agas, 1960) Gatha, 193-194.

24. *Mokhapāhuḍa* (Kundakunda) Published under the Title of *Aṣṇṭapāhuḍa*' (Jaipur, T.S. 1976), Gāthā—5.
25. *Jambudvīpapaṇṇatti*, Ch. 13, Gāthā, 88-92, (Sholapur, J.J.G., 1958).
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30. *Ācārāṅgasūtra*, Ibid., 1.5.6. 171.
31. See Thomas Aquinas, *Selected Writings*, Ed. P. Robert (Goodwin, Indianpolis, 1965).
32. See *Systematic Theology* (Paul Tillich) in 3 vols. (Chicago University Press, 1951-1963).
33. Damodar Shastri, *Jaina Concept of Godhood in Indian Philosophical Thought* (in Sanskrit), (Varanasi, Bharatiya Vidya, 1985), p. 329.
34. Quoted by T.K. Tukol, in *Compendium of Jainism* (Dharwad, Karnatak University, 1980), p. 72.
35. *Sarvārthasiddhi* (Pūjyapāda), Ed. Shastri, Phoolchandra (Varansai, Jnanpeetha, 1971), p. 5.
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37. T.R.V. Murty, 'The Hindu Conception of God' in *God—The Contemporary Discussion* (Ed.) Frederick Sontag & M. Darrol. Bryant (New York, The Rose of Sharon PRess, 1982), p. 27.
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Relevance of the Jaina Siddhānta Texts in Natural Sciences

Suniti Kumar Pathak

As the world stands today, modernity ignores the ideas of the past on the plea of their being unscientific and, sometimes, improvised. Because of the development of hard-science and technology, accumulation of personal gains and better comfort by pressing a button has been the call of the day. Selfishness has been renamed 'ego-centric attitude to oneself'. It is a colourful capsule to hide the interior smartly. Resultantly, devaluation of the basic values in respect of a person has been a common feature in the world. Goodness of a person is interpreted as his foolishness; sincerity is interpreted as flattery and so on. Despite that, slogans of 'humanism' and 'socialisation' are often heard through the mass media by those who are neither humane nor sincere in person. Science and technology hardly leave a room to generate sentiments and tender feelings in the human mind.

Science and technology change forms and dimensions through the ages. As and when man could invent fire out of two pieces of wood and could explore a sprout from the seed that was sown, howsoever improvised it might be, science and technology came into existence. In course of time those explorations and inventions lost their novelty and amazement. New and further new discoveries were made. So, science and technology advance throughout the history of mankind. Needham has nicely shown how the development of science took place since the ancient days in its own process. In the context of the Indian scientific knowledge, *śāstras*, *vidyās*, *āgamas*, *suttas*, in short, the ancient scriptures belonging to different Indian ways (*nayas*) of life, like the Brāhmaṇas, the Buddhists, the Jainas, preserve the basic tenets of the ancient Indian specialisations on different constituents and materials of the world. The book of Nature has been read, observed and scientifically studied in accordance with the Indian culture.

Thus specialisation arose in course of time since the Vedic period

as the Indian literary evidences show. Prior to the cultural affluence of the Aryans in India, the Pre-Aryans had also flourished in their scientific understanding at their own level. A.B. Kieth thus remarks: "As life went on, more and more topics arose which the schools could not adequately master, and special schools arose which cut across the old divisions".[1]

Indian Methods of Scientific Experimentation

The term 'religion' is not the appropriate equivalent of 'dharma' in the Indian language. Dharma or dhamma suggests a particular way of human life. So the words like 'secular', 'secularism' do not always have the same significance in the Indian context. Similarly, 'vijñāna' corresponding to 'science', as has been loosely used, is not appropriate rendering. Science tends to the understanding of the Truth known by experimentation. Neither *vijñāna* nor *vijñapti* covers the total connotation of science, as it is understood.

Thus we should not confuse the Indian 'dharma' with 'religion' as the social-anthropologists usually understand the latter; nor 'science' in the English vocabulary be identical with Vijñana in the context of ancient Indian culture. Scientific knowledge and spiritual understanding went hand in hand in the ancient days in India, whether, the Brahmanical, the Buddhist or the Jaina.

The Jainas probably used the correct term for 'scientific knowledge' by using 'paññatti' in Ardhamāgadhī (Sanskrit *prajñapati*) in place of Vijñāna, which bears several connotations in various contexts.

However, the general principles of scientific experimentations as focused in the Indian Literature may be jotted down below:

1. Oral teaching was imparted in the aphoristic Sūtra style from a teacher to his student or disciple. The teacher expounded his subject orally to sum up the pith of his discourse in short sentences. It would be significant to those who had the key to their meaning but of little import to those who did not.
2. Subsequently, a new and interesting style was supplemented after reproducing the dialogue between teacher and student. For adducing a topic a *prima facie* view (*pūrvapakṣa*) was brought forward to arrive at corrected and revised or the final opinion (*siddhānta*). The Pūrvapakṣa starts arguments with its usual phrase 'if so', and, 'so it is put forward'. Then the

reply is that 'this is not the case for the reason' which is then introduced.

3. Śaṅkara introduced a new style of discussing a theme based on an essay or lecture and, later on it developed the very stiff, scientific or philosophical style as observed in the poetics and in sciences, Dharmaśāstra, logic and philosophy.
4. Forms of exposition, seminar-type discourse to propound a doctrine occurred in course of discussions to the *sabhā* (assembly).

Paññatti Texts in Ardhamāgadhī

Among the Jainas, the existence of the original Āgama or Siddhānta is controversial. The Digambara Jainas usually hold that the Āgama texts have been almost lost[2] because, the Āgamas were not written as those had been preserved in *śruti-paramparā* between a teacher and his taught. Puṣpadanta-bhūtāvali (2nd cent. A.D.) could compile a portion of the ancient teachings from Ācārya Dharasena. Those teachings have come down under the caption of in *Saṭkhaṇḍāgama* in Śaurasenī Prakrit. The text was commented on by Vīrasena and analysed by Nemicandra (11th cent. A.D.) in his *Gommaṭasāra*.[3]

The Śvetāmbara Jains preserve a different tradition about the growth of the Āgama or Siddhānta literature. Mahāvīra, the Jina, made his discourses among the Gaṇadharas and those were known as the Pūrva, which are not in existence now. By circa 4th cent B.C. the Jaina teachers assembled at Pāṭaliputra and thereafter the Āgama texts were compiled as the Jaina scripture in the Ardhamāgadhī language. Subsequently, in the Valabhi council of the Jainas (5th Cent. A.D.) the Āgama literature developed into manifold divisions as they have come down to us. Prior to the Pāṭaliputra assembly the discourses of the Jina had been preserved in oral tradition from a teacher to his disciple. Bhadrabāhu is said to have interpreted the original teachings of the Jina in his *Niryutti*.

However, the Jaina texts besides the Āgamas may broadly be classified under four categories, namely:

1. Mūlasuttas or the principal teachings comprising four texts.
2. Twelve Aṅga (limbs) and twelve Uvaṅga (secondary limbs) of the teachings of Mahāvīra.
3. Paiṇṇa (Prakīrṇaka) Miscellaneous teachings compiled in

ten books.

4. Six Cheya (Cheda) Sutta texts, which appear to be a late inclusion in the Jaina Canon containing the views of the prominent exponents of the Jainas.

Among them the Paññatti texts are enumerated as the secondary limbs (Uvaṅga) which laid emphasis on the preservation of the scientific experimentation prevalent among the Jainas in ancient India. The *Surapaññatti*, the *Caṅdapaññatti*, the *Jambuddīvapaṇṇatti*,[4] as their names suggest, deal with the scientific topics on astronomy especially the movement of the planets including the Sun, the Moon and division of time according to the ancient Indian system of calculation. The *Jambudīvapaṇṇatti* describes the universe with refrence to India and other continents as enumerated by the Jainas.

Several other texts of the Uvaṅga class like the *Jīvājīvābhigama*,[5] the *Pannavaṇā*[6] also mention some results of scientific experimentation of bio-science, geography, and ethnographic outline with their respective social traits. Similar information is also observed in the *Mūlasutta* and *Aṅga* class of Jaina texts.

Furthermore, some non-canonical texts and commentaries occasionally raise the scientific issues. For instance, the commentaries on *Tattvārtha-sūtra* (Chapt. 3-4) according to the Jaina outlook.[7]

The Jaina Approach on Cosmology

The leading systems of the Indian thought, here, Vedic or broadly Brahmanical, Buddhistic, as well as Jaina and even the Lokāyatikas hold distinct concepts about the cosmic world *bhūḥ*, *bhuvaḥ* and *svaḥ* which refer to three regions *triloka* i.e. the mundane world, the intermediatory world and the celestial world.[8] The cosmic world is a part of the universe (Brahmāṇḍa). According to the Buddhist texts of the Theravādins in Pali and the Sarvāstivadins in Sanskrit, the Sahasra-lokadhātu consisting of 1000 *cakravālas*, Dvisahasra-lokadhātu of 2000 *cakravālas* and Trisahasra-lokadhātu of 3000 *cakravālas* constitue the universe.[9] Mountains, seas and islands of various forms and kinds belong to a *cakravāla*. In the Ardhamāgadhī Paññatti texts of the Jains also mention is made of the universe consisting of three worlds (*tiloya*).

Thus the basic resemblances in the theoretical experimentation are observed in the texts of the above three clerical religions of ancient India. The cosmographical details of the ancient Indian texts, whether Brahmanical, Buddhistic or Jaina, show consistency in ideas as well as

objective vision with an elaborate plan of investigation in their own procedure. It is to note that those cosmographical analyses bear connection with the ontological and ethical doctrines to establish the metaphysical standpoint of each system of thought. Such tendencies could develop mathematics, astronomy, and other branches of natural science. The Siddhānta texts, Jyotiṣa, Vedāṅga and their commentaries in Sanskrit, the Paññatti texts in Ardhamāgadhī, and several textual mentions from the Nikāya texts in Pali are the specimens of ancient Indian scientific knowledge on cosmology and geography in the Indian literature.

The *Jambuddīvapaṇṇatti* deals with the geographical description of the earth, the Jambudvīpa along with other worlds, above and underneath, in the second chapter. The seven Khettas on this earth are enumerated as *iha toha hoi bharāhakhetta tatto hemabbado ya harivarso / toha ya videho Vammaga herannabado ya ahara-bado /* i.e. Bhāratakṣetra, Haimavat, Harivarṣa, Videha, Ramyaka, H(a)iraṇyavata and Airāvata.[10] Again six Kulaparvatas have been enumerated and described. It is to be noted that the text mentions the size and area covered by each *parvatas* of the Jambudvīpa in its own mathematical calculation. That system of mensuration followed in the second chapter is important for understanding the geometrical knowledge of pre-Āryabhaṭa (c. 5th Cent. A.D.) period.

The eleventh chapter entitled Bāhira-uvasambhara vannaṇo of the said text narrates the islands, oceans, the underneath world, the upper world and Siddhakhetta i.e. cosmography in details with the calculation of their area according to the Indian system of mensuration.

Apart from these Paññatti texts the Jaina outlook on cosmography and the cosmic world may be found in the *Jambudvīpasamāsa* of Umāsvāti,[11] and its commentary by Vijayasiṃha, *Saṃghāyanī* of Jinabhadra with Malayagiri's commentary,[12] *Bṛhatkṣetra-samāsa* commented by Malayagiri,[13] *Jambudvīpa-Saṃghāyanī* of Haribhadra.[14] Comparatively, the *Mūlācāra* of Ācarya Vaṭṭakera,[15] *Tiloyasāra* of Muni Nemicandra,[16] *Jambūdivapaṇṇatti* an Uvaṅga text may be referred.[17]

On Mathematics

Regarding mathematics and astronomy, the *Pañcasiddhāntika* of Āryabhaṭa of Kusumapura (c. 476 A.D.)is a milestone of scientific investigation of India. Scholars presume that there had been some pre-Āryabhaṭa school in ancient days which was also devoted to these

subjects. In this connection *Surapaṇṇatti* and *Caṅdapaṇṇatti*, of the Uvaṅga class in the Jaina literature deserve mention. The western scholars paid no attention to these two *paññatti* texts as the planetary system in relation to the Earth and the Moon does not always tally with that of the Greeks and the Romans. But in the Asian context of astronomical investigations, the interrelation of the planets and other celestial bodies in the sky hold a major distinction and that requires a review with our modern equipments. It does not tend to any prejudiced approach to traditionalism. It may however help us to prove the methodology of experiments followed by the ancient Indian investigators of natural science.

In the field of mathematics the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* and *Tiloyasāra* ascribed to Nemicandra preserve a critical approach. Logarithms in the arithmatical progression have replaced the geomentral progression in modern mathematics based on the Greek and the Roman mathematical systems. It is to note that the Paññatti texts preserve the result of the investigation which appears to be indigenous. In this regard the contribution of Laxmi Candra Jain deserves a commendation for his comparative estimate of the problem.[18]

For the astronomical narration the Chapter XII of the *Jambuddīvapaṇṇatti Saṅgaha* calcualtes the position of celestial bodies and their respective distance from each other.

On Biology and Physiology

The *Jivājivādhigama-uvaṅga* deals with innumerable sentient living beings with their comprehensive classifications belonging to various spheres of the universe. The *Pannavaṇā-uvaṅga* also classifies living creatives including the human beings with their ethnographic descriptions related to specific regional habitations. The *Davvasaṅgaha* which was probably composed by Muni Nemicandra mentions that the sentient beings are *atthikāya*, existent obviously.

Similarly, physiology, anatomy and therapeutical management as prescribed in the Jaina traditions are dialogued between Mahāvira and Goyāma in the *Taṃdulaveyāliya-paiṇṇa.*

Conclusion

A critical study of the Siddhānta or Āgama as well as the post-Siddhānta texts throws more light on the scientific experimentation of the items of natural science. In this connection the Vedic and Upaniṣadic tradition

analyses items of natural science in the contexts of the permanent reality, 'Brahman', that is said to have created the Universe including the cosmic world in its functioning embodiment (*saguṇa-brahman*). Śākyaputra Gautama, the Buddha, remained silent on the ontological questions. The Jainas who are alleged to be non-orthodox on account of their indigenousness hold a distinct outlook from the Vedas and Brāhmanas.

The analysis of cosmography, as the Jaina *ācāryas* endeavoured, is not far off from modern scientific analysis. The world is dynamic, not static. It is ever changing and progressing in either forward or backward direction. The ācāryas therefore divided the Time (*kāla*) into two cycles (*gati*) *utsarpiṇī* and *avasarpiṇī*. Natural science also attempts to cultivate the promotion of understanding through the systematic experimentation about nature before the beings in pursuit of the Truth. In that respect the evolutionary and the revolutionary processes in scientific development do not differ from the investigations as laid down in the Siddhānta or Āgama texts and the follow-up analyses made by the Jains teachers. K.B. Jindal[19] has comapared the Jaina outlook with the modern scientific results in the following way:

i) Jains assert that the size of the universe is fixed (343 cu. *rajjus*). The red shift of the spectral lines must be attributed to some other cause, not to the expansion of the universe.

ii) Ether, the medium of motion, cannot be eliminated out of the scheme of the universe. It is a non-material medium and all attempts to associate physical properties with it are bound to fail.

iii) Ether is the seat of a stationary system of waves.

iv) The field or the medium of rest, through which the forces of gravitation and electromagnetism operate, is quite a separate reality, non-active and non-material. Its functions cannot be usurped by space.

v) Space without matter and time does not mean void. Space is a substance and a reality in itself in which the property of expansion inheres.

vi) Space and time form a mixed continuum and this four-dimensional continuum forms a finite universe beyond which no particle of matter or energy can travel on account of the absence of ether, but beyond this finite universe there is an infinite extension of pure mathematical

space.

vii) The postulate that space becomes warped in the presence of matter is unnecessary at least in the explanation of a finite universe.

viii) According to the Jain view, even the modern atom is a molecule (*skandhas*) and Raman effect would be discovered in the atoms also some day.

ix) According to the laws of union of the elementary grains of energy mesotrons, positive and negative, of different masses are possible.

More ideas will be found dispersed in the Jain texts and in relevant literature in general. For instance, it is mentioned in the *Gommaṭasāru* that the shape of a *paramānu* is hexagonal. A free *paramānu* can travel with a maximum velocity of 14 *rajjus* per *samaya* (the unit of time) i.e. it can shoot from one corner of the universe to the other in one *samaya*, provided it does not meet with any collision. This is the maximum velocity possible in nature just as, according to Einstein, the velocity of light is the limit. At each successive collision the velocity is reduced.

But, in the excessive rush toward materialistic attainment, science have overlooked human values in understanding the self-nature of a person. In other words, the human values have been distorted and animalism has almost swallowed humanism. The world has been maddened with the experimentation on nature for material expansion. D.S. Kothari[20] in his Tata Lecture in Bangalore (March 20, 1979) rightly pointed out the following :

> Ernest Mach in *The Analysis of Sensations* argues that the two viewpoints, namely a stationary earth and the sun and the fixed stars in motion, and its opposite way of looking at the matter, are 'equally correct and equally well-adapted to their special purposes'. But to accept this equivalence is nothing, as he points out, 'in comparison to the simple truth based on straightforward psychological analysis that the "ego", the "I", is nothing at all but a transitory connection of changing elements'. He says, "The ego must be given up. It is partly the fear of it, that has given rise to the many extravagances of pessimism and optimism, and to numerous religious, ascetic, and philosophical absurdities. In the long run we shall not be able to close our eyes to this simple truth, which is the

immediate outcome of psychological analysis. We shall then be willing to renounce individual immortality, and not place more value upon the subsidiary elements than upon the principal ones. In this way we shall arrive at a freer and more enlightened view of life, which will preclude the disregard of other egos and the over-estimation of our own."

NOTES

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2. M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, University of Calcutta, pp. 472-473.
3. Hiralal Jain : "Literature of Jainism", *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. V, (Calcutta 1978), pp. 154-155.
4. *Jambuddīpaprajñapti* with Śānticandra's *Ṭīkā*, Devachanda Lalabhai, Jaina Pustaka-Uddhāra, Series Nos. 52 & 54, Bombay 1920.
   Surapaṇṇatti with the commentary of Malayagiri Agama-Udaya Samiti, Surat, (Bombay 1919).
   Jambuddīva-paṇṇatti Saṃgaha of Padmanandi (11th cent. A.D.), ed. A.N. Upadhye & Hiralal Jain, Solapur 1948, Indian Historical Quarterly, (Calcutta, 1938), p. 188f.
5. *Jivājivāgamopāṅga* (*Jivādhigama*) with Malayagiri's *ṭīkā*, Jaina Pustaka Uddhara, Series No. 50, (Bombay 1919).
6. *Pannavaṇā Bhagavatī* with Malayagiri's ṭīkā and its Sanskrit translation by Narakcandra, (Benaras 1889); *Śrīprajñāpanopāṅgam*, Āgama-Udaya Samiti, (Bombay, 1918).
7. Sanātan Jaina Granthamālā Vol. I; *Tattvārtha-rāja vārtika*, Comm. of *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra*, Sanatan Jaina Granthmālā No. 4, (Benaras, 1915).
8. *Pañcasiddhānta* of Varāhamihira (died 587 A.D.) refers to *Pitāmaha-siddhānta* as one of the old texts.
   Sūryasiddhānta and other texts. See A.B. Keith *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 516 ff (Vide Note No. 1 above).
9. Haldar J.R., *Early Buddhist Mythology*, Cosmogony and Cosmology, Chap. I, (Delhi, 1977).
10. *Jambuddivapapaṇṇatti-Saṃgaha* of Padmanandi Chap. II, Verse 12f (Vide Note No. 4 above).
11. *Jambudvīpasamāsa* with Vijayasiṃha's Commentary, Ahmedabad 1922.
12. *Śaṃghayāṇī* of Jinabhadra with the Commentary of Malayagiri, (Bhavanagar Samvat 1973).

13. *Bṛhatkṣetra-samāsa* with Malayagiri's Commentary, (Bhavanagar, Samvat 1977).
14. *Jambuddvīipa-saṃghayānī* of Haribhadra, Bhavanagar, Samat. 1985.
15. *Mūlācara* with Vasunandin the commentary of Vasunandi (10th cent. A.D.) Manikachandra Digambara Jaina Granthamālā No. 19 & 23.
16. *Tiloyasāra* of Nemicandra with Mādhavacandra's commentary, (Bombay 1917).
    Tiloya Paññatti (2 Vols.), Jivaraja Jaina Granthmala, (Solapur, 1943 & 1951).
17. See Note No. 4 above.
18. *Jambudivapaṇṇatti Saṅgha,* Introduction, (Solapur 1948).
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The Jain Declaration on Nature: A Historic Document

Vilas Sangave

The Jain Declaration on Nature, presented to His Royal Highness The Duke of Edinburgh (i.e. Prince Philip) in the Buckingham Palace, London on the 23rd October, 1990 by the Jain Delegation of International Jain Community, is a document of great historical importance and far-reaching social significance. The Declaration was drafted by eminent jurist and renowned Jainologist Dr. L.M. Singhvi of New Delhi and was presented by the leaders and scholars representing the most ancient Jain community of India and the Jains settled in West Europe, North America, East Africa and Far East Asia. The Declaration was also unanimous in the sense that it was presented on behalf of all the four sects of Jainism. This is the first occasion in the very long social history of Jains residing in different parts of the world to present such a Declaration in the name of the traditional and distinctive religion of Jainism to an established and effective International Organisation like the WWF—World Wide Fund for Nature founded in 1961 by His Royal Highness Prince Philip.

Conservation and Religion

The World Wide Fund for Nature, under the personal guidance of its founder-president HRH Prince Philip, has been, since its inception, continuously striving hard in implementing various projects all over the world started for achieving the avowed purpose of conservation of nature and protection of wild life. But in course of time it was realised that mere government efforts and administrative measures of various sorts will not bring in the desired results and that serious attempts are necessary for getting the maximum involvement of common masses in the several activities and projects sponsored by the World Wide Fund for Nature in different areas of the world. Hence, for securing the required co-operation of the people in adequate measures it was thought

advisable to involve the important world religions concerned actively with the objective of preservation of nature and maintenance of ecological balance. Accordingly on the occasion of the silver jubilee of the WWF in 1986 a new worldwide organisation termed as International Network on Conservation and Religion (INCR) was established and in the Inter-Faith Ceremony held at Assisi in Italy on the 29th September, 1986, as a part of Silver Jubilee celebrations of WWF, five religions joined the Network with their Declarations on Religion and Nature. These five Declarations of Assisi, addressed by religious leaders to their own followers in the Buddhist, Christian, Hindu, Jewish and Muslim worlds, are of tremendous significance for the future of conservation. To this International Network later on, Bahai faith and Sikhism were added and on the 23rd October, 1990 Jainism became the eighth religion to join the International Network on Conservation and Religion by presenting its Declaration on Nature like the Declarations of other seven religions. Thus for the first time in history eight major religions of the world have categorically stated that their beliefs lead them to conservation. It is obvious that with this clear call from the representatives of eight major religions of the world, it will now be possible to plan joint activities, both educational and practical, with the world's believers.

Religious Literature

Further, with a view to extending extensive academic support to the activities of the International Network on Conservation and Religion, a new worldwide literary organisation known as International Sacred Literature Trust (ISLT) was launched by Prince Philip at the United Nations in May, 1989. It has been decided that in collaboration with Harper Row Publishers, the ISLT will publish a growing series of religious texts from around the world, selected and translated into English by scholars and writers appointed by their own religious communities. Thus by joining on 23rd October, 1990 the International Network on Conservation and Religion, the Jain community has automatically become a member of the International Sacred Literature Trust. As a result the Jain community has now to undertake and to carry on the environmental activities for the Network and the translation programmes of the Trust. Accordingly the Jain community has decided to undertake the translation into English of the most sacred and authoritative text entitled *Tattvārtha-Sūtra* by Ācārya Umāsvāti and to publish it under the auspices of the Trust. In this way the presentation

of the Jain Declaration on Nature has actively involved the International Jain community in the programmes of International Network on Conservation and Religion and International Sacred Literature Trust.

Jain Declaration

This Jain Declaration on Nature aptly begins by highlighting the gist of Jainism, viz. *Parasparopagraho Jīvanam*, i.e. "All Life is bound together by mutual support and interdependence". It is a 'Sūtra', i.e., an aphorism, from *Tattavārtha-Sūtra*, the standard sacred text of Jainism. This Sūtra has, in recent times, been made very popular by Ācārya Vidyānanada Mahāraj and has been accepted as the motto of Jainism. In fact it stresses the philosophy of ecological harmony and non-violence on which the doctrines and ethics of Jainism are based. The entire Jain tradition, founded on this philosophy, formed a vital part of the mainstream of Indian life from ancient times to the present day and contributed greatly to philosophical, literary, artistic and economic and political heritage of India.

The Jain Declaration on Nature is broadly divided into three main parts, viz., (i) The Jain teachings, (ii) The Jain cosmology, and (iii) the Jain code of conduct and each part vividly brings out the most salient aspects of Jain religion concerned with it.

Jain Teachings

Among the Jain teachings (i) The most prominent place has been given to the principle of *Ahiṃsā*, i.e. non-violence, as is clear from the famous maxim of Jain religion, viz. *Ahiṃsā Paramo Dharmaḥ* (i.e. Non-violence is the supreme religion) and hence the Declaration emphatically stated that the Jain ecological philosophy is virtually synonymous with the principle of *Ahiṃsā* (non-violence) which runs through the Jain tradition like a golden thread. In this tradition *Ahiṃsā* is directed not only towards human beings but towards all nature and is applied not only to avoidance of visible physical acts of violence but also avoidance of violence in the hearts and minds of human beings because without violent thought there can be no violent actions. (ii) The second major teaching of Jainism is based on the fundamental natural phenomenon of symbiosis or mutual dependence and is categorically stated in the ancient Jain scriptural aphorism *Parasparopagraho Jīvanam* i.e. all life is bound together by mutual support and interdependence. It defines the scope of modern ecology as

it stresses the fundamental principle that all aspects of nature belong together and are bound in a physical as well as a metaphysical relationship. (iii) *Anekāntavāda*, i.e. the doctrine of manifold aspects, emphasises the concept of universal interdependence and specifically recommends that one should take into account the viewpoints of other species, other communities and nations and other human beings. (iv) The fourth major teaching of Jainism, viz., *Samyaktva* i.e. equanimity, founded on the first three teachings, stresses the observance of equanimity towards both *Jīva* (i.e. animate beings) and *Ajīva* (i.e. inanimate substances and objects). The practice of *Samyaktva* encourages an attitude of give and take and of live and let live. It also offers a pragmatic peace plan based not on the domination of nature but on an equanimity of mind devoted to the preservation of the balance of the universe. (v) *Jīvadayā* i.e. compassion towards all living beings, is the positive aspect of the principle of *Ahiṃsā* and it means caring for all living beings, tending, protecting and serving them. It entails *maitrī*, (i.e. universal friendliness), *kṣamā*, (i.e. universal forgiveness), and *abhaya*, (i.e. universal fearlessness). Obviously, the observance of *Jīva-dayā* leads to actions which have great relevance to contemporary environmental concerns.

Jain Cosmology

According to Jain cosmology the universe has no beginning or end and has no creator. The universe consists of *jīva* and *ajīva* things, the two everlasting, uncreated, independent and co-existing categories. 'Jiva' is consciousness and that which has no consciousness is 'Ajiva'. Further, it is affirmed that all souls are in *kārmic* bondage to the universe. They go through a continuous cycle of death and rebirth in a personal evolution that can lead at last to *Mokṣa*, i.e. eternal release. In this cycle there are countless souls at different stages of their personal evolution: earth bodies, water bodies, fire bodies, air bodies, vegetable bodies, and mobile bodies ranging from bacteria, insects, worms, birds, and larger animals to human beings, infernal beings and celestial beings. Furthermore, it is maintained that above the single-sense *jīvas* are microorganisms and small animals with two, three or four senses. Higher in the order are the *jīvas* with five senses. The highest grade of animals and human beings also possess rationality and *manas*, i.e. intuition. As a highly evolved form of life, human beings have a great moral responsibility in their mutual dealings and in their relationship with the rest of the universe. Hence, this conception of life, in whic

human beings have an inescapable ethical responsibility, has made the Jain tradition a cradle for the creed of environmental protection and harmony.

Jain Code of Conduct

The practical code of conduct laid down for the Jain householders consists in the observance of

- (i) The five *vratas* (i.e. vows),
- (ii) Kindness to animals,
- (iii) Vegetarianism,
- (iv) Self-restraint and the avoidance of waste, and
- (v) Charity.

(i) The five *vratas* (i.e. vows) in the Jain code of conduct are (a) Ahiṃsā, i.e. non-violence in thought, word and deed, (b) Satya, i.e., to seek and speak the truth, (c) Acaurya, i.e., to behave honestly and never to take anything by force or theft, (d) Brahmacarya, i.e., to practise restraint and chastity in thought, word and deed, and (e) Aparigraha, i.e., to practise non-acquisitiveness. Among these vows, the vow of Ahiṃsā is the first and pivotal vow and the other vows are viewed as aspects of Ahimsā.

(ii) The kindness to animals involves avoidance of all forms of cruelty to animals and human beings. The Jains condemn as evil the practice of animals sacrifice to the gods. It is also generally forbidden to keep animals in captivity, to whip, mutilate or overload them or to deprive them of adequate food and drink.

(iii) The Jains are strict vegetarians and they do not consume either meat, fish or eggs. They confine themselves only to vegetable and milk products and never take any life for sport.

(iv) It is enjoined upon Jains to lead a life of restraint and to practise a measure of abstinence and austerity. They are encouraged to observe regular periods of fasting for self-purification and to avoid waste in any form. In fact, using any resource beyond one's needs and misuse of any part of nature is considered a form of theft. Indeed the Jain faith unequivocally declares that waste and creating pollution are acts of violence.

(v) It is noteworthy that giving charitable donations and one's time for community projects generally is a part of a Jain householder's obligations. It is this sense of social obligation born out of religious

teachings that has led the Jains to found and maintain a large number of welfare institutions for the benefit of men, animals and birds. In fact, wealthy individuals are advised to recognise that beyond a certain point their wealth is superfluous to their needs and that they should manage the surplus as trustees for social benefit.

Thus it is quite clear that this fivefold Jain code of conduct is profoundly ecological in its practical consequences and in the long run it aims to achieve holistic environmental protection, peace and harmony in the universe.

Jain Responsibility

In this way by presenting "The Jain Declaration on Nature", the Jain community has become a part of the International Network on Conservation and Religion and has willingly accepted the social responsibility of working for the protection and development of natural environment and the maintenance of ecological balance. It is hoped that the Jains will soon faithfully discharge this responsibility by launching various practical projects in different parts of the world for the conservation of nature and protection of all forms of life. Certainly in this endeavour the Jains can achieve progress to a large extent because their ancient and practical religion is not only very intimately connected with various aspects of nature but is also definitely committed to strive for the protection of life in all its forms in the universe. In fact the observance in practice of the cardinal principle of Ahimsā (i.e. non-violence) in all its implications as preached by Jain religion from ancient times will go a long way in solving the present-day vexed world problems connected with pollution, depredation, deterioration and destruction of nature.

On *Vinaya* in Jainism

B.K. Khadavadi

Ethical discipline (*ācāra-dharma*) being a very important facet of Jainism, the ancient Jaina seers and thinkers have picked up certain valuable human virtues and given them specific places in their scheme of conduct, prescribed for ascetics as well as the laity; and *vinaya* is one of such virtues to have that honour and status. Apart from the general or dictionary meaning of this term, such as modesty, humility, polite conduct, decorum or gentle behaviour etc., Jaina seers have invested it with certain special qualities, that are expected to produce certain results, which are conducive to the development of individual personality and a healthy society, and also to the maintenance of stability and perpetuation of the Sacred Law. This phenomenon is lucidly reflected in several works found in the various strata of their literature—canonical, commentarial, didactic, narrative, etc.

Commentator Aparajitasūri (c. 800 A.D.) in his *Vijayodayā* commentary on the *Mūlārādhanā* of *Śivakotyācārya* (c. 100 A.D.), a Digambara pro-canonical work, defines *vinaya* as follows:

vinayati apanayati yatkarmamukham tadvinayaḥ

"That which removes, keeps away or destroys inauspious or sinful acts is *vinaya*".

According to Pt. Āśādhara, an erudite scholar of medieval period and author of the *Anagāradharmāmṛta* (1234 A.D.), *vinaya* means control over senses and passions and humble attitude towards revered personalities.

It is so very important to mark that *vinaya* forms the subject of the first chapter or sermon of the *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra*, an important *Mūla-sūtra* belonging to the Ardhamāgadhī Canon, which is meant for the instruction and training of the younger monks. Muni Śrī Nāthmallaji, in his introduction to this chapter (*Āmukha*, p. 3) of this *Sūtra* edited by himself gives on the strength of some canonical works,

the following five meanings of *vinaya*:

1. Anuvartana - regard, obedience, following.
2. Avartana - proper behaviour, governing.
3. Anuśāsana - enjoined rule of conduct, or precept.
4. Musrūṣā - service to teachers and elders.
5. Siṣṭācāra-paripālana - due observance of good manners.

He then notes that, in this chapter all these meaningful elements are propounded. He further observes that this chapter represents all the aspects of *vinaya* and in it they are systematically explained for the younger monks, for the reason that in ancient days well maintained *guru-śiṣya-paramparā*, the teacher-pupil tradition, had great importance in monastic circles, which protected and perpetuated the Sacred Law taught by the Jina.

Canonical and other works generally classify *vinaya* into five kinds:

1. Jñāna *vinaya* - regard for knowledge.
2. Ḍarśana *vinaya* - regard for faith.
3. Śāritra *vinaya* - regard for conduct.
4. Tapa *vinaya* - pleasant attitude towards austerity.
5. Upaśrāra *vinaya* - observance of good manners with others.

The first four are of basic value and the last one is concerned with the day-to-day practical life. The *Tapa vinaya* is further divided into three kinds: *mānasika* = mental, *vācanika* = verbal and *kāyika* = physical (bodily service) which are further divided into two: *pratyakṣa* (direct) and *parokṣa* (indirect). All this shows the extent of depth to which the Jaina seers have gone while formulating the scope of their concept of *vinaya*.

Ācārya Vaṭṭakera in his *Mūlāc̄āra* (c. 100-200 A.D.), another important pro-canonical work of the Digambaras, treats the subject of *vinaya* at some length, and brings out its significance in the following *gāhā* (V. 211):

Viprarura Vírihirassa
havadi sikrava sabha girauhē/
Virayo sikravāra phalam
Virayaphalaṃ sabba-kallānam//

The whole education of one, devoid of *vinaya* is futile. The fruit of education (acquiring knowledge) is *vinaya*; and the fruit of *vinaya* is one's overall progress in life. He then (*gāhā* V. 213) elucidates: *vinaya* is not indicative of mental slavery, but it is the manifestation of peculiar qualities belonging to one's soul and day-to-day practical life, as it embodies the following qualities:

1.	ārjava	-	straightforwardness
2.	mārdava	-	modesty, softness
3.	lāghava	-	dispassionate attitude
4.	bhakri	-	devotion, faith
5.	rahlādakaraṇa	-	pleasing nature

Moreover in course of time, *vinaya* bears the following fruits (results) (*gāhā* V. 214) : fame, friendship, dispelling of pride, respect for teachers and elders, regard for the Doctrine propounded by the Jina and appreciation of (others') virtues.

The *Mūlārādhanā* provides an independent chapter (Adhikāra IV, *gāhās* 112-131) for the treatment of *vinaya*, incorporating the same above-noted *gāhās* and also adding a few more, among which the following one deserve special notice (*gāhā* IV. 129).

virao mokkhaddāro
virado saṃyamo tavo ṇāṇam/
viparara ārāhijjai
āyario sabba-saṅgho

"*Vinaya* is the gate of salvation; it is *vinaya* with which one can accomplish self-restraint, austerity and knowledge, and one can win over (the favour of) the Ācārya and even the (whole) Saṅgha—the Jaina social organisation". This *gāhā* also helps us to explain why some canonical works, like *Upāśakadaśāḥ* and *Aupapātika-sūtra*, have straightaway used the term *vinaya* in the sense of *saṃyama* (self-restraint) and *cāritra* (ethical discipline).

Further the *Tattvārtha-sūtra*, the Bible of Jainism, points out (vi.6.1) that *vinayasampannatā*—possessing of *vinaya* is one of the sixteen virtues that constitute excellent moral character (of ascetics as well as householders).

Then, it is interesting to note that Hemacandra in his *Yoga-śāstra* enlists *saumya* (to be modest, soft etc.) as one of 35 qualities of all illustrious householders. Similarly, Śāntisuri in his *Dharmaratna*-

Prakaraṇa, another treatise, of the medieval period, on the householder's life, enlists *vinīta*—being possessed of *vinaya*, as one of the 21 qualities of an ideal layman. Moreover *vinaya* is one of the six *abhyantara-tapa*—internal austerities, *tapa* being a form of self-discipline or self-training for spiritual life.

Lastly I would just present two literary evidences, one ancient and canonical, and the other medieval and narrative-cum-didactic, which highlight the prime importance of *vinaya* in Jainism:

(1) In the story of Selaka in the *Nāyādhamma-Kahāo*, the Sixth Aṅga of the Ardhamāgadhī Canon, Jina Dharma is referred to as *vinaya mūla dharma*—Faith based on *vinaya*, which is twofold: *agāra-vinaya* (for householders) and *anagāra-vinaya* (for monks), *vinaya* thereby meaning ethical discipline—*ācāra dharma*.

Tararam thavṣra-yuke sudaṃsararaṃ vinaya muladhamma pennatte. Se vis virasa duvihe pannata taṃ joha agāra virra anagāra virra ya, CH. V, *Selaganāya*.

(2) The *Upadesamālā* of Sanghadāsagaṇi states:

virarao sasre mūlam
virio samjaho bhave/
virayo vighmukkassa
kao dhaṃma kao tao//

Vinaya is the foundation of the teachings of the Jina; and Vinīta (alone) could be self-restrained. How could one, devoid of *vinaya* accomplish *dharma*—righteous way of life or *tapa*—austerity self-discipline?

A careful consideration of all these salient statements on the special qualities of the virtue of *vinaya*, as reflected in several works in the various strata of Jaina literature, with which the Jaina seers and thinkers have equipped this term, leads us to the following conclusion:

For the proper development of individual personality and healthy social life, the accomplishment of the virtue of *vinaya* is indispensable. A truely wise man or scholar is *vinīta*—possessed of *vinaya*. *vinaya* is as good as an accessory of *saṃyama*, self-restraint, which is a synonym of or another name for Ahiṃsā itself—non-violence, the Supreme

doctrine in Jainism. The cultivation of at least, some of the practicable aspects of the virtue of *vinaya* by every member of the society, would considerably help us towards national harmony and progress, further leading to international peace and prosperity.

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Law and Religion: The Hindu and Jain Approach

Werner F. Menski

This contribution consists of a necessarily brief discussion of the relationship of Hindu law and religion in India. While I am not saying much about Jaina law, which has at least since 1955, been subsumed under Hindu law, and has, for official practical purposes, virtually ceased to exist, what I do say about Hindu law and religion has wide repercussions for Jaina law also. Neither Hindu nor Jaina law is as centrally based on scripture or text as many scholars have made out. Neither Hinduism nor Jainism is a 'religion of the book', nor are Hindu and Jaina law found in the major scriptures of the respective religious tradition. Thus, what I learnt first of all from Professor Jain is applied here: the living religious and legal traditions of South Asia may be said to be based on textual authority. but they have developed their own momentum, which has reduced the scope for the practical application of textual sources. For Hindu law at least, as I shall show, this is not a new wisdom; some of the ancient texts tell us precisely this, and thus admit their own limitations.

Law and Religion

Following my appointment at School of Oriental and African Studies in 1981 to teach Hindu and Modern South Asian Laws, it was inevitable that I should soon become involved in the development of Religious Studies at SOAS, a sustained process during the 1980s, which has not led to the establishment of a separate Department of Religion and Philosophy. The 1980s also saw more focussed interest in the multifarious relationship of religion with law, in general as well as particularly on the Indian side, since Indian legal studies experienced a quite unforseen growth in the same period. My German training as an indologist enabled me to take an active part in both fields and to work in the interface of law and religion. The growing number of students in

this field helped this development, since their questions and specific concerns provide important stimuli for further thinking.

On the law side, a long-established S.O.A.S. course on Legal Systems of Asia and Africa provides a general jurisprudential introduction to cross-cultural legal study as well as short introductions to the major legal systems of Asia and Africa. By its very nature, this course addresses questions like the nature of law and its links with custom, morality and religion. The discussions on these topics have been a renewed challenge year after year. Since the establishment of a new core course in Religious Studies, Introduction to the Study of Religions, which asks similar questions as the law course, studying the relationship of law and religion has become ever more topical.

In both courses, students learn to see law and religion, respectively, as universal phenomena that appear in many different manifestations. In a place such as S.O.A.S., certainly, definitions of 'law' and of 'religion' cannot be developed restrictively so as to include only Western-type state laws and monotheistic religions. While agreed universal definitions of either phenomenon may never be achieved, there cannot really be any society without law, nor without religion. We must even go further and state, quite categorically, that no individual will be without an awareness of the categories of right and wrong, though, as we shall see, in South Asian contexts this comes out more as an awareness of a fluid order than of definitive rules. Similarly, there cannot be any individual without any perception of the existence of suprahuman forces, whatever those may be. Atheism, then, is an alternative religion, and agnostics are mutants of believers.

It does not seem to matter, either, what forms such perceptions take. They do not have to be formally expressed as beliefs or systemic entities found in rules. Even if they are not formulated in any way, they still exist, albeit invisibly, otherwise we would have to argue that a conflict-free simple society has no law and that simple meditation, for example, may not be religious. Those who know the different shades of Jain philosophy may have no conceptual problems of this kind, but in my experience a holistic view of law and religion constantly raises opposition by those who prefer to see formal structures and definitive rules and press certain sectarian perspectives.

Both religion and law, as basic elements and facts of human existence, show a considerable overlap between the two. But how are they distinguished? First of all, one should probably emphasise that their purpose may largely be the same, namely to guide individuals, to provide a framework within which socially responsible action may be

carried out, and to establish references beyond the individual's reach, since we all live in an environment that is not, ultimately, controllable by man. This last point may be considered peculiar to religion, creating a wider ambit than law as a social phenomenon could do. It seems to be for this reason that religious laws enjoy greater force of authority than laws made by man. From a comparative perspective, it is relevant to make the point that most legal systems in the world, even many Western laws, rely on this extra sanction emanating from the religious sphere. This makes the distinction of 'the religious' and 'the secular' look somewhat fictitious and to speak of particular state laws as 'secular' may be quite dishonest. This is shown by the current debate in Britain about blasphemy and the lack of protection for Muslim sensibilities in a basically Christian setup, as well as modern India's pretence of being a secular democracy, when in fact the whole ethos of the place is subject to the *dharma* complex.

A clearer differentiation of law and religion may exist in the sources of authority, however. While religious authority emanates from a source beyond man's control, whether divine or not, or from persons or things associated with this source, legal authority comes from man or human institutions. It may be in the form of a ruler's law, such as Austin's classic conceptualisation of law as state law, or it may take more democratic forms. Apart from that, however, there are many forms of law with which lawyers have always had great difficulties, in particular customs and conventions. Since they lack the elements of formality and certainty that lawyers constantly look for, they are often seen as extra-legal, which appears often as a devious way of depriving society of the authority to make its own rules.

The above view of authority takes the common top-down approach which seems to have been constantly favoured by experts in law and is now referred to as 'legal centralism.'[1] A similar approach can be detected in religion, obviously for the simple reason that it gives the bearers of religious authority extra power. However, if we were to take a bottom-up approach, every individual acquires a discretion in terms of both religion and law, though individual action is bound to be circumscribed by prevailing notions of propriety and of the nature of forces beyond man's control. In this scenario, the scope for individual discretion, though often limited in practice, is theoretically absolutely unlimited, leading to the development of new religious movements and legal systems all the time.

The really important question, then would not seem to be whether some particular phenomenon is religious or legal, but how it operates

in social reality. In our modern world, and certainly in India, the label of 'religion' has acquired eminently political significance. But at least those purporting to rely on religion admit that they do so, while emphasising the secular notion of 'state law' is a dishonest attempt to hide the influence of religious notions, however imperceptible they may be. In other words, there is no truly secular legal system providing rule systems of a more or less fluid nature in an entirely abstract sense, since all legal and religious systems appear linked to a particular culture and its notion and are, therefore, not neatly separable from each other.

Hindu law and religion

The beauty and importance of the Hindu example lies in the fact that we find here an unrivalled and somewhat continuous literary documentation of thought processes from c.1500 B.C. to our days, though periodically this date is put back a few thousands years by scholars concerned to emphasize the antiquity of ancient India. The fact that we have so much literary evidence, however, makes our task at once much easier and so much more difficult. We just cannot speculate, as one might be tempted to do in the case of unwritten traditions. The first task is to make sense of the literary evidence that we are so fortunate to possess. The dangers of inventing a tradition in this process of study seem very real indeed and a lot has, of course, been written about the 'invention' and 'distortion' of Hinduism.

It is now fairly well recognised that the interpretation of the earliest Hindu literature, when it began in the 19th century, has right from the start been marred by a number of conceptual errors: After all, an odd combination of British colonial interests and German romanticism is responsible for most of the early advances in indological scholarship.

First of all we find that Sanskrit texts were translated as a matter of philological science. If the Sanskrit did not make sense to a Western expert, he would be tempted to declare, often in a rather school-masterly fashion, that the text was wrong and should instead read so and so. Indian scholars, too, invented their own explanations and few scholars have been ready to admit that they did not really understand what they translated; even when they did this, it was often taken as polite understatement by subsequent generations.

Since the indological pioneers were mainly concerned with translating the texts, they by making them accessible to others in a European language, did not, at that stage, give sufficient attention to

the interpretation of what they translated. Those who then used these translations, often to write about religion and law, even if they knew their Sanskrit well, found it rather difficult to make coherent sense of what they found. One major conceptual error at this stage of indological research was to give Vedic words meanings that appeared, or seemed to appear, in later texts, like the *dharmaśāstra* which were better nown than the earlier literature. But when the Vedas were composed, if that is the right expression, there were probably no Upaṅiṣads and most certainly no *dharmaśūtras* yet!

In accordance with the rules of academia, such often quite wrong findings were then used and re-used, to become established knowledge, so that the secondary literature now sometimes contains a complete multiple muddle of concepts and ideas. I found the literature on the eight Indian forms of marriage a good example of such confusion.[3] In more general terms, the literature continues to speak of 'religion' and 'law' as separate entities, while Hindus tell us all the time that they see their religion as *sanātana-dharma*, the eternal *dharma*, i.e. the ever-changing concept of doing the right thing at the right time : the *dharma* complex does not seem to draw a clear distinction between the legal and the religious. Yet some Hindus may get annoyed with us if we tell them that there have been so many changes in their religious traditions that it is impossible to find any central authority, especially since this process of change and addition continues today and that it would be better to abandon the religious elements and to focus on law instead.

To understand the relationship of Hindu law and religion better, let us join the Vedic man, who lives in around 1500 B.C, in Northwest India, to find him as as part of an agricultural society, perhaps in almost paradisical conditions where abundant food grows on its own, ready for the picking without much effort. Clearly, we do not know much about the social and economic conditions at that time. The Vedic literature contains, however, very helpful indications about such matters, which do not directly interest us here.

The Vedic literature, (the four Vedas) first of all, has also preserved much evidence about what some people, at that time, thought about the world and man's place in it. Here is clear evidence of religion, never really disputed as such, because we have at once an impressive (and for scholars of Greek mythology, familiar) pantheon of Vedic deities that receive sacrifices from the human realm. Al least, such sacrifices are directed towards this pantheon or members of it. While the genesis of this conceptualisation remains in the dark (the most prominent theory continues to be that the gods were originally natural

phenomena like sun and moon, fire and water, now deified; also that here we have non-Aryan influence) we have abundant detailed material about the nature of the Vedic sacrificial system. The famous intoxicating Soma, so rare later that we do no know till today whether it was a mushroom or some other plant, provided an important ritual ingredient. Equally important, and apparently gradually most important, were the offerings involving sacrificial fires, deified as Agni, the fire-god, who had a messenger and medium function.

The basically twofold purpose of such solemn sacrificial rituals is clear from the thousands of hymns which up the Vedas :

(i) There is a direct relationship between the sacrificer and the gods that are addressed. The sacrifice is clearly designed to provide benefits to the sacrificer, through or from the gods. The desired benefits are very real and, it has been said, earthly: good health and long life, the proverbial hundred autumns; progeny, leading to strength and continuity; and wealth, which brings strength and power. Here the gods seem to be under an obligation to respond appropriately to the sacrificers' suggestions. Compliance is sought to be achieved through ritual precision and by very elaborate methods of 'praising' individual deities, depicting them as the supreme deity, for example.

(ii) In the Vedic worldview, which forms the basis of both Hindu law and religion, the solemn sacrifice has a particular function in the cosmic context. Our Vedic man, being part of nature, sought to make sense of what went on around him. He saw the sun rise and set in an orderly fashion, watched the moon grow and wane, experience the regularity of day and night, seasons and changes in nature. Man watched himself die and being born. Yet all this regularity contained many irregular phenomena, it was not an entirely ordered system. As Vedic man began to think about all this, and the Vedas contain abundant references to this, the picture of an invisibly controlled complex system emerges. The Vedic man does not straight away ascribe the controlling power (and the creative power) to a big divine person - God, but sees this invisible power as something indefinite and undefinable that must always have been there. The Vedic man finds the celestial phenomena, i.e. the realm of the gods, just as much subject to this concept of order as himself. By sacrificing to various deities, the Vedic man therefore also seeks to re-create an ordered microcosmic universe that is seen in relation to, and in interaction with, macrocosmic order.

(iii) We know that this complex sacrificial system, which could well be pre-Aryan to some extent, must have proved ineffective. The gods simply did not comply with the constantly increased, very real

demands of the worshippers/sacrificers. So the system declined and the Vedic mode of sacrifice was considerably modified, in fact almost completely abandoned, and is almost totally unknown today.

The central Vedic concept of *ṛta*, 'order,' 'harmony', encompassing every aspect of existence in the cosmic whole, allows no distinction between law and religion. It also implies at once what becomes later elaborated in so many philosophical thought processes that are well-recorded : man as an individual in invisibly and also visibly linked with ultimately every aspect of this cosmic existence. In other words, the idea that man is a separate entity, apart from any other being, is very well present, but realistic observation leads the Vedic man to the conclusion that any individual cannot be an independent entity. Man, we see later, may be god-like or God-like, but this phenomenon of *interlinkedness* is never abandoned and seems to be, in fact, a major element of *Hinduness*, a core concept equivalent to the doctrinal core elements of other religions

At the same time, realistic observation yields a realisation of difference between each and every created being. While this may reinforce the ideas of individuality, at the same time the visible and invisible interlinkedness of the individual focusses attention on the whole, producing a concept of division of functions, of differences in the life purpose of individual created beings. This ultimately leads to the caste system as we know it and to the full development of the *varnāśramadharma* theories in classical HIndu thought.

We see, thus, the Vedic man engaged in seeking to make sense of the fact of human existence, and of man's place in this environment, which comprises more than just the visible. The focus of our thinkers is not just on the sacrificial elements of life, as a concentrated study of sacrificial texts might lead us to conclude. To the extent that the sacrificial techniques deteriorate into bargaining with members of the pantheon, the Vedic man develops the idea that, rather than elaborate and precise sacrificial action, perhaps any appropriate human action may have beneficial consequences. The concept of *karma*, 'action.' but really' 'retribution of any action,' now yields a theory that any individual action is bound to have consequences, be they negative, positive or quite simply neutral. The ideal of *dharma*, 'appropriate behavior,' later 'the individual's duty to do the right things at the right time,' thus becomes the central concept of Hinduism, arising out of *ṛta*, not replacing it, but emphasising clearly that now every individual is under an obligation to contribute well to the cosmic whole. Again, this is not really a question of belief, or of acceptance, it is taken to be the

fact of life, so essential that, in my experience, the average Hindu is quite surprised if we make a big issue out of this any try to 'explain' and study it. The notion itself seems so imbibed by Hindus, also today, that our questioning seems strange; yet on reflection many Hindus agree that the concept of an ordered whole influenced by multiple actions is central to their belief system. By developing the concept of *dharma*, then, the Vedic man has become the classical Hindu, whose every step is believed to have consequences.

It may be necessary at this stage to reiterate that *dharma* does not allow a distinction between religion and law. *Dharma* is also not religious law, it is a concept encompassing all aspects of human existence, of making contracts as much as in solemn sacrifices. The idea that Hinduism is a way of life rather than a religion is clearly born out by what the Vedic man has developed into classical Hinduism.

The big question now became who would control *dharma*, i.e, who would determine or establish what was conducive to the maintenance of order and the prevention of disorder. The texts, quite characteristically, focus on tradition, and so we find important verses like *Manusmṛti* 2.6 and 2.12 which explain the sources of *dharma*. These are basically (i) *śruti*, 'what was heard' - the Vedic literature: (ii) *smṛti*, 'what was remembered' - the classical Hindu literature (though this is a very wide term) ; (iii) *sadāāra* 'good conduct' or 'model behavior,' either of learned sages, or of any model figure in society; and (iv) *ātmanastuṣṭi*, 'the individual conscience.'[4]

We have here, as in Islam with its *sharia* ideal, a hierarchical listing of the sources of the very general core concept, a highly idealised ethical norm. While the Islamic jurists have been stressing the importance of 'divine legislation', this is not what happened in Hinduism.

The *śāstric* texts merely indicate this hierarchy and have left us to understand that the Vedas are the supreme source of *dharma*, next the vast *smṛti* literature, then the behaviour of the good and the learned, and finally individual discretion. This does go much further than Islam in placing the individual, in any life situation, under a very direct obligation to seek to achieve the ideal. The Chinese notion of *li*, however, seems very similar here.[5]

If we focus for a moment on real life, however, we may realise that the sequence of sources of *dharma* as given above is exactly reversed in real life situations. Robert Lingat stopped short of admitting that the most important source of *dharma* was in fact the individual Hindu's conscience.[6] Lingat, apparently, could not digest what he

found, arguing that approval of one's conscience "does not strike us as quite properly placed here, following upon sources which possess an authority exterior to man"[7], but I am fairly sure that we can go that far. All the time in an individual's existence, subconsciously or consciously, guidance is required about how best to act or behave, about what is the right thing to do. The *śāstric* texts do not mention this explicitly, most probably because it is the basic fact of life that needs no explanation. The intuitive process of self-searching that goes on all the time, however, constantly avoids any complications by the individual doing 'the right thing' more or less instinctively. Only if there is some insecurity will the individual look for the guidance of others. This could still be an almost intuitive inner process that leaves no visible traces. It could, however, also be a conscious search for guidance from a model figure in society. Only when that yields no satisfactory answers does the Hindu system advise guidance from textual sources, the Hindu scriptures, first *smṛti*, and then only *śruti*, the 'divinely revealed' sacred knowledge.

The contrast with the Islamic model, which developed so much later, is remarkable. Quite evidently, the Hindu system does not rely on scriptural authority throughout, as the Islamic system purports to, but does not do in practice, either.[8] There are few arguments at this stage in favour of calling the Hindu experts in *śāstra* jurists, and although a few schools of thought, prominently the *mīmāṃsakas*, advocated the supremacy of the Vedas in various terms, the discretion of the individual, the central element of self-control, was never abandoned.

This is why Hindu law, if we wish to distinguish it from Hindu religion, remained in large parts entirely customary, localised, and extremely diverse in its manifestation. The overriding dictate of *dharma* required this unending flexibility and ready adjustability to changing circumstances. The notion of 'appropriateness' could never be fully fitted into the straight jacket of rules that bind everybody equally. Quite logically, thus, neither legislation nor precedent became sources of traditional Hindu law. The overriding concept of *dharma* prevented any rigidity of rules, and later *śāstric* texts state quite clearly that if one stuck to a textual rule without considering the facts and circumstances of the particular situation, injustice might result.[9]

This ideal system is, of course, open to abuse and could not really function forever as a self-regulating mechanism. While in ancient China the *li* - *fa* controversy led to the so-called 'Confucianisation of the law', post-classical Hindu law, at roughly the same time probably, developed a very similar model of external control. Many *śāstric* texts, but

especially later *smṛtis* like those of Nārada and Bṛhaspati, start with very clear comments about the decline of moral standards, leading to the decay of *dharma*. A concept of progressive deterioration develops and the texts declare that we now live in the worst possible era, the *Kaliyuga*, in which individuals no longer follow their duties and have to be reminded of them by external pressure, symbolised (both in China and India) by the stick with which the ruler punished the erring subjects. The power of *daṇḍa* or punishment becomes now a major function of the Hindu ruler. He also becomes the final arbiter in any formal dispute (the concept of *vyavahāra*, 'litigation,' appears), and we see that here is a larger role for the *smṛti* texts, as formal court procedures become established.

But the supremacy of local tradition, of customary law, continues to be emphasized by the texts. The inner logic of *dharma* is never called into question, and despite his power to make rules for the administration of justice, the Hindu king does not gain the power to make laws for his subjects. Further, no *śāstric* text advocates the abolition of customary law, and the very real and primary authority of the individual Hindu's conscience seems never to be abrogated from within HIndu tradition except by the *mīmāṃsakas* and their followers. No jurists emerge that took control of society and sought to determine rules from the texts that applied to everyone alike, as God-given rules. The Hindu ruler, too, remains subject to *dharma*, not a master of it. This is so even where we have strong and established kingdoms; a closer look at the very impressive imperial legal system in China yields the same evidence: the people are required to maintain order locally, the official bureaucratic machinery is there to deter litigation and conflict and to prevent criminal activity, thus strengthening, in the final analysis, the intuitive processes of self- control on which both system rely so strongly.

The Moghul rulers of India apparently understood this control mechanism quite well, and found their own place in it without much difficulty, probably also because the notion of self-controlled order was never really alien to Muslims, either. Medieval Indian society thus achieved a subtle balance of Muslim political supremacy and local Hindu independence of thought and action. Hindu customary laws continued to rule the field, and the less orthodox Muslim rulers seem to have been happy enough to take full cognisance of them.

When the colonial powers began to govern parts of India, the need for judicial administration seemed apparent. By providing an elaborate court system based on English models and, gradually; laying the

foundations for a largely codified modern civil law system, the British made major conceptual mistakes; dividing legal topics into listed subjects, which were seen as religious and therefore to be governed by Muslim and Hindu laws, while the unlisted legal subjects were presumed to be of a secular nature, they overlooked the integrality of law and religion in the traditional Hindu (and Muslim) systems. By taking a narrow view of religion and religious law, they left, from 1772 onwards, only the so-called 'listed subjects' to the realm of religious law, a concept continued in modern India under the rather more secularised term 'personal law'. The British may have realised that their apparently neat distinction of law and religion did not work out in practice. But when this realisation fully struck them, it was too late to change a complex system that had meanwhile developed. Thus, modern India continues to labour under the historical burden of a partially 'secularised' legal system, which refuses to follow Western models of state law, and a reluctantly tolerated personal law system, within which religious notions are given greater scope.

Since this uneasy truce of state law and religious law has been giving rise to many tensions of a communal nature, I have begun to argue that a realistic admission of the pervasive influence of religious notions in the various Indian laws would be an asset in terms of nation-building. India has always thrived on diversity and respect for widely different opinions in the legal field. To attempt an artificial uniformity for political reasons will do more harm than good.[10] I see a very useful role for scholars of Sanskrit and Prakrit in this field, since we need to understand much more about how this traditional overlap of law and religion worked in the pre-modern periods of Indian history. Some simplistic attempts in this direction have been made.[11] I am not satisfied that we have done enough so far to investigate this field of tremendous national importance.

Jain Law

I have already said in the introduction that for practical purposes Jain law may be more or less irrelevant today, but Jain culture and religion are an internal part of India's complex cultural mix and need to be understood well, today. Thus books such as the one written by Professor J.C. Jain recently are important for understanding Indian culture and the interface of law and religion

There is, as far as I can see, no real dispute over the fact that Jain law exists but is today, in modern India, subsumed under Hindu law.

Two important questions then arise: (1) What was the nature of the traditional Jain law? (2) What is the scope for the application of Jain law today? While an essay on the second question would not doubt be of interest to many Jains, I propose to focus here on the first question only. The history and origins of Jain law, its contents, and its relationship with Hindu law all appear to be under-researched.

In this regard, the long-standing scholarly dispute over the relationship between Hindu law and Jain law is of central relevance. Champat Rai Jain, in his study of 1926,[12] has argued vigorously that Jain law is a legal system separate from the Hindu law, that the books on Jain law are quite independent from their Hindu counterparts,[13] and that misguided western scholars have generally failed to understand Jainism and Jain law.

Such defensive assertiveness is, however, only fruitful to a limited extent. Some of the criticism seems justified, i.e. it appears correct to assert that Jain law is a separate legal system. However, whether it is older than Hindu law or not, and how old it actually is, seem to me matters of chauvinistic and narrow interest, given the nature of ancient Indian scriptural evidence, which generally does not allow firm dates and definite statements. I would therefore venture to suggest that ascertaining the contents of the law is a more important task than finding an agreed position about the origins of the law itself.

Jain provides samples of Jain textual law like the *Bhadrabāhu Saṃhitā* and the *Vardhamāna Nīti*.[14] Though these are separate texts, they clearly originate from a pool of ancient Indian wisdom that is neither restrained by the artificial academic boundaries of 'law' and 'religion', nor restricted by the limits of sectarianism of different religions. The origins of such texts in a floating and largely oral pool of *smṛti* wisdom precludes exclusiveness and segregration. With reference to ancient Jain philosophy, this has recently again been emphasised by Prof. J.C. Jain.[15]

On the other hand, it is quite apparent that Jain law has developed certain principles peculiar to itself, distinguishing it from the dominant Hindu law of the Mitākṣarā type. Thus, the increased property rights of Jain widows, the stronger position of the mother[16] and quite different rules on adoption[17] can be noted. In principle, though, I see only minor differences to the Hindu law, in particular since the textual evidence on Hindu law is so diverse in itself that some of the 'contrasts' with Jain law can easily be overstated.

The fact that Jain law received only haphazard recognition under the British-dominated Anglo-Indian legal system appears well-known.

The combination of traditional resistance against exposure of venerated texts to foreign hands and the cavalier fashion in which India laws were often handled by the foreign court officials created a picture of Jain law as an undeveloped branch of Hindu law, to be subsumed under that larger entity.[18] The conclusion, therefore, was that the Jains had no law books, thus taking away the scope for the application of scriptural authority, making the knowledge of Jain texts a matter of academic rather than practical interest.

At the same time, many cases in British India involved Jains.[19] And there is evidence of judicial awareness of the existence of special customs among the Jains.[20] These customs became an object of intense interest and controversy and it is no surprise, given the generally restrictive attitude of the Anglo-Indian procedural regime towards unwritten sources of law, that many such customs received only scant recognition, leading to a tendency among Jains to keep their disputes out of the official courts. Such a trend would, rather, strengthen the traditional *ahiṃsā*-approach that a Jain should take towards litigation, anyway.

I have been inspired in my study of Indian laws by how Prof. J.C. Jain viewed social reality in its relation to scriptural authority. As he reiterates in his latest book, the overriding importance of right action in every respect re-asserts itself in this field, too. Perhaps even more so than in Hindu law, then, the highly individualised ethical framework of Jainism is a major component of Jain law, making it less tangible than lawyers would wish, but sufficiently flexible for individual Jains to fulfil their sociolegal obligations. At the end of the day, whether we call this 'law' or 'religion does not seem to matter much, since both are subsumed under Jain notion of *dharma*, which continue, in my observation, to exert a powerful influence on most individual adherents of that religion.

NOTES

1. John, Griffiths: 'What is legal pluralism?'. In: *Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law*. 24 [1986] pp.1-56.
2. Jeanine, Miller: *The Vision of Cosmic Order in the Vedas*, London 1985, provides a critical evaluation on this issue.
3. See W.F. Menski, : *Role and Ritual in the Hindu Marriage*, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis 1984, esp. pp. 633-645.
4. On this see Robert, Lingat: *The Classical Law of India*, Berkeley et at..: University of California Press, 1973.

5. For details see S. Van der Sprenkel : *Legal Institutions in Manchu China*, London, 1977.
6. Lingat, as note 4 pp. 1-17.
7. *Ibid.*, p.6.
8. Elaboration on this point is obviously beyond the ambit of the present paper.
9. This was even held in a case decided by the Kerala High Court as late as 1968 : see *Kunhikannan* 1968 KLT 19.
10. See W.F. Menski : 'Uniform Civil Code in India : A false model for development ?.' In: *Kerala Law Times*, 190 (2) Journal Section, pp.3- 19.
11. S. Narang, (ed.) : *Dharmaśāstra in Contemporary Times*, Delhi: Nag Publishers, 1988 seems to me too superficial, while Rama Jois: *Seeds of Modern Public Law in Ancient Indian Jurisprudence*, Lucknow : Eastern Book Company, 1990 provides a more insightful approach.
12. Champat Rai, Jain: *The Jaina Law*, Madras : Devendra 1926.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 240.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 109-216.
15. J.C. Jain, *The Jain Way of Life*, Gurgaon 1991, pp. 46 ff.
16. See Jain, at note 13 pp. 12, 21ff. and elsewhere.
17. *Ibid.*, esp. pp. 19-37.
18. *Ibid.* p. 7.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 242ff.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 103-106.

Glimpses of Jain Heritage in Ancient Bengal (Upto c. 11th Cent. A.D.)

Rangan K. Jana

From the remote past Bengal (undivided) came under the influence of different religious systems, such as Vedic, Jain as well as Buddhist with its gradual Aryanisation. Possibly it happened not later than c. 4th cent. B.C. Unfortunately we have no detailed information, by which we can sketch gradual progress of different religious systems in Bengal at that time.

Both Buddhist and the Jain canonical literature mention lists of sixteen great states in northern India at the time of Buddha and Mahāvīra. But about eastern states the Buddhist list only mentions Aṅga, where as Jain *Bhagavatīsūtra* mentions Vaṅga and Lāḍha among the eastern states. The fourth Upāṅga *Prajñāpanā* gives a list of twenty-five and half ($25\frac{1}{2}$) Janapadas with their respective capitals as the Aryan people, which includes Vaṅga (Tāmraliptī) and Lāḍha (Koṭīvarṣa).[1]

Jain religion became one of the major religious sects of eastern India under Mahāvīra. One of the earliest sources of Jain tradition the *Acārāṅga Sūtra*[2] refers to Mahāvīra's life in his twelve-year pre-*Kevela-jñāna* period. Mahāvīra had travelled widely in the pathless country of the Lāḍha through Vajjabhūmi and Subbhabhūmi as mentioned in the text. Actually Vajjabhūmi and Subbhabhūmi were the divisions of Lāḍha, which is to be identified with the western parts of the West Bengal.[3] It has also been mentioned that the people of Lāḍha (i.e. Rāḍha) were barbarous at the time of Mahāvīra's visit. Lord Mahāvīra and his followers had faced ill treatment from the people of this region. It is said that 'some of the recluses carried bamboo staves in order to keep off the dogs'.[4] According to the *Kalpasūtra*,[5] Mahāvīra from northern Bihar visited as well as spent a year of his missionary career in Paṇiyabhūmi, which was included in Lāḍha (i.e. Rāḍha, in West Bengal). During his visit the western parts of Bengal possibly came under the influence of Jainism. It is also to be believed that within a

few years after Mahāvīra's demise Jainism was firmly rooted in Bengal. On the basis of the references of some places in early Pali canonical literature, it can also be inferred that possibly Bengal accepted Jainism before Buddhism.

It is a difficult task to have a correct idea about the progress of Jainism after the demise of Lord Mahāvīra. Possibly Jainism continued to flourish in Bengal after his death in those areas, where he taught his doctrine. In eastern India as stated by *Kalpasūtra*, a Jain sect existed after the name of one Godāsa, who was a disciple of Bhadrabāhu, known as Godāsagaṇa. In course of time this Godāsagaṇa sect was divided into four sub-sects[6] such as—the Koṭivarṣīyas; the Puṇḍravardhanīyas; the Tāmraliptīyas and the Kharvaṭīyas. Except the last one, three other above mentioned Śākhās were connected with three well-known geographical units of ancient Bengal. According to a canonical text *Prajñāpanā*, Koṭivarṣa was the capital of the Lāḍha (i.e. Rāḍha) country; according to the *Divyāvadāna*, the Puṇḍravardhana was the centre of the Nirgrantha Jain religion during the time of Emperor Aśoka; this area roughly is the present north Bengal; and so far as Tāmralipta is concerned, another early Jain text *Bhagavatīsūtra*,[7] records a story of a merchant named Tamali Moriyaputta, who became a Jain monk apparently in Mahāvīra's lifetime. About the Kharvaṭīyas nothing is yet to be known. It leaves no doubt that strong Jain influence existed in north, west and south Bengal from pre-Christian times.[8] According to Hariṣena, the author of *Bṛhatkathākośa*, though it was composed in c. 931 A.D., the Jain *guru* of the Mauryan Emperor Chandragupta, Bhadrabāhu was a son of a Brāhmaṇa of Deva Koṭṭa Pura, which was situated in Puṇḍravardhana. It implicates that Puṇḍravardhana was one of the earliest Jain centre. According to Hariṣena, he was indebted to earlier works such as original *Ārādhanā*, for this information.

The most important Jain record, which was found during excavation at Paharpur (Rajshahi, Bangladesh), is a copper plate inscription[9] of the Gupta year 159 (C. 478-479 A.D.). This 5th century A.D. inscription is incidentally the earliest Jain epigraphic record from Bengal (undivided). This record is an endowment for the worship of Arhats to a Vihāra in Vaṭagohālī[10] near Paharpur and presided over by the disciples descended from the Nirgrantha Ācārya Guhanandin of Kasi. A Brāhmaṇa named Nāthaśarman and his wife Rāmī made this endowment. They were staunch devotees of Guhanandin. It is interesting to note here that no Jain inscription before this mentions a Brāhmaṇa Jain devotee, though Jain canonical texts mention some Brāhmaṇa converts. The Jain Vihāra was situated in the Nagiraṭṭa

maṇḍala of Puṇḍravardhanabhukti. Possibly it was built before the date of the copper-plate record. Acārya Guhanandin is described as a follower of 'Pañca stūpanikāya'. This expression 'Pañca stūpanikāya' is also found in the non-canonical Digambara literature. According to *Bṛhatkathākośa* (12.132ff) there is a reference of the founding of five *stūpas* at Mathura. Possibly the Digambara monks of Pancastūpa sect of Mathura sent some of their followers to Bengal afterwards. This sect is one of the earliest branches of the Digambara school. No doubt this copper plate inscription proves popularity of the Digambara religion in ancient Bengal.

Regarding the state of Jainism in Bengal the celebrated Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Yuan-chwang records a valuable account during his visit to India in the second quarter of the 7th century A.D. In this account he has mentioned the existence of numerous Digambara Jain Nirgranthas in Puṇḍravardhana[11] and Samataṭa[12] of ancient Bengal along with the comparative references to other major religious sects. According to Dr. P.C. Bagchi[13] by the time of Yuan-chwang's visit in India, the Ājīvikas possibly merged with the Nirgranthas, who were numerous in Bengal. But there is no information by which can be proved the separate existence of the Ājīvikas in Bengal. *Bhagavatīsūtra*, one of the oldest Jain canonical texts, confirms the antiquity of the Ājīvika religion. The term 'Nirgrantha' means 'free from fetters'.[14] According to A.K. Chatterjee[15] the term 'Nirgrantha' was first invented by Pārśva, who was (roughly) 250 years senior to Lord Mahāvīra and later came to denote his (Pārśva's) followers. Possibly Mahāvīra was an ascetic belonging to the Nirgrantha order.

Most of the ancient Jain relics situated in Bengal are in the Manbhum and Singhbhum regions. Some scholars opined that possibly Jainism had spread from Bihar to Orissa (Kaliṅga) through these areas.[16] According to some scholars, the message of Nirgrantha religion was possibly carried to Orissa by the Jain monks of southern Bengal. But Dr. A.K. Chatterjee opined that these monks belonged either to the Tāmraliptika or Koṭivarṣa Śākhas as mentioned in the *Therāvalī*.[17] According to J.D. Beglar an active trade, commerce and pilgrims' route existed between Kaliṅga and Magadha through this region.[18] The Hathigumpha inscription[19] of Khāravela, refers to the Gorathagiri (i.e. Barabar hills in Gaya, Bihar) and the Gangetic plains of Pāṭaliputra (in Bihar), which indicates some routes from Kaliṅga to Magadha through this region.[20] According to the Jain *Harivaṃsa* of Jinasena II,[21] the eastern region is formed of twelve peoples among which one is Mānovartikā. This Mānovartikā is the Sanskritised form of Manbhum.

It has been suggested by some scholars[22] that the modern Manbhum in the Santhal Parganas, was named after the Manas of Orissa. Possibly Manbhum region was the via media region through which the contacts between Bihar and Orissa were maintained. An inscription[23] of the year 62 of the Kuṣāṇa era (c. 150 A.D.) depicted on the pedestal of a Jain image from Mathura refers to a Jain monk with the epithet—which has been interpreted as 'a native of Rāḍha' (or Western Bengal). It proves that a strong Jain heritage flourished in this area. This area in question from the early medieval period enjoyed freedom from any strong central authority. This can be inferred on the basis of available data: for example the Māna dynasty established a kingdom in the hilly region between Midnapur and Gaya districts,[25] Rhotasgarh seal[26] and the Midnapur copper plate inscription[27] of Śāsaṅka prove his control over this area; the Ganjam Copper Plates[28] of Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta Śri Mādhavarāja II dated 619-20 A.D. of Śailodbhava dynasty ruling over Koṅgoda, who summons the name of Śāsaṅka as suzerain[29]; possibly this territory was annexed by Harṣavardhana in the c 7th century A.D. under his authority.[30] According to K.C. Panigrahi[31], later the Bhaumakaras and the Bhañjas of Orissa ruled over in Kaliṅga and the border areas of Bengal and Bihar. During the reign of Mahīpāla I (c. 988-1038 A.D.) Pāla empire had been restored by him and this area in question was also included,[32] though there is no positive evidence in support of the view[33] that he had recovered western or southern Bengal. From the account of Rājendra Cola's invasion in Bengal, Mahīpāla's rule over West Bengal can possibly be inferred.[34] But still there is difference of opinion among scholars. The *Rāmacharita* of Sandhyākaranandin[35] does mention a list of princes, possibly feudal lords of the forest countries, who helped Rāmpāla to crush Kaivartta rebellion, such as—Lakṣmīsura of Aparamandāra of the forest tracts and Rudraśikhara, the ruler of Tailakampa (i.e. Telkupi in Purulia district) and so forth; possibly they were *de facto* local rulers in nature. About the Jain sculptures of this area R.D. Banerjee indicates the position of Jain zone of influence in Bengal.[36] According to him the Jain zone of influence possibly extended from the south bank of the river up to the northern frontier of the jungle country[36a] and the stylistic affinity of the sculptures of this zone had been influenced by the Orissan type.[36b] It can be seen from the above mentioned data that on account of relatively greater political freedom from any central authority, the culture of this area had flourished independently, possibly with the broader cultural influence from the adjoining centres.

No important Jain inscription has yet been found from West

Bengal as well as Bangladesh between c. 600 A.D. and 1000 A.D. But certainly in eastern India Jainism existed till the end of the 11th century A.D. During the Pāla Age it is generally believed that Jainism suffered a sharp decline in Bengal (undivided).[37] There is no reference to Jain patronage of any kind by the Pāla as well as the Sena kings in their numerous inscriptions, except one. This is a Jain record,[38] which belongs to the 24th year of the king Rājyapāla, who ruled in the first half of the 10th cent. A.D.,[39] which has been discovered from Bargaon (near Nalanda, Bihar), incised on a pillar, but in connection with Jain heritage in Bengal, this record has no relevance.

In this connection, some dohās written in the Pāla age show a different picture. MM. H.P. Sastri discovered some Bengali manuscripts of Sahajayāna Buddhist character from Nepal in 1907 A.D. In the year 1916 A.D. he edited and published it under the title *Bauddha-Gān-O-Dohā*. One of the dohas was composed by one Saroja Vajra and later commented upon by Advaya Vajra. There is a difference in opinion among scholars about the date of Saroja Vajra.[40] To avoid any controversy, it is better to place Saroja Vajra and his commentator (who was definitely later than the original author), in the Pāla period between c. 8th cent. A.D. and middle of c. 12th cent. A.D. It is interesting to note here that the dohā writer and his commentator used the harshest language[41] against the Kṣapaṇakas to refute their philosophy. It is clear from their writings that the main point of their attack was against the so-called Kṣapaṇakas' or the religious practice or Kṣapaṇakas' whose religious philosophy seems to have been similar to the Jain Digambara practice, such as—keeping long nails, shaving of head, going naked etc. Such types of practices were stigmatised by the dohā author Saroja Vajra as well as his commentator. Now if the Kṣapaṇakas in the dohā were Jains, then this type of negative approach against the religious philosophy of the Kṣapaṇakas (or Jain philosophy) in one way proves their popularity in Pāla-period in Bengal. But nothing can be said further.

A large number of epigraphs of the Pala-Sena period in Bengal do not contain any reference to Jainism. But there is no dearth of Jain images, which belong to the Pala period and a few to a later period which have been brought to light from different parts of West Bengal as well as Bangladesh. On account of various excavations and survey of antiquarians, in West Bengal, most of the Jain images as well as shrines are discovered from south western parts of West Bengal, which comprises Purulia district (sites are—Deoli, Pakbirra, Sanka, Chharra, Senara etc.); Bankura district (sites are—Pareshnath, Ambikanagar,

Kendua, Loadihi, Barkola, Harmashra, Bahulara, Dharapat etc.); Midnapore district (sites are—Rajpara, Tharagram etc.); Burdwan district (sites are Satdeulia, Raina, Katwa, Ujani etc.); and from the district of 24 Parganas' Sunderban region. Jain Icons are mostly sculptural representation of Tīrthaṅkaras with their various Pārśvadevatās and attendant figures, images of the Śāsanadevīs, sometimes associated with their respective male yakṣa counterparts, a few *caturmukha* (or *caumukha*) miniature votive shrines.

In this connection by the courtesy of the Directorate of Archaeology, Government of West Bengal[43] nine (9) unpublished Jain sculptures, which belong to the state Archaeological Museum,[43a] West Bengal are mentioned below with their respective iconographic features, probable dating, material and provenance.

1. Ambikā (Museum No. 5.52)

The bejewelled goddess stands on a lotus, which is placed on a *tri-ratha* pedestal in *abaṅga* pose, holding a little child (her younger son Prabhaṅkara) with her left hand. Her right arm is broken. She has an oval *śiraścakra*. Above the goddess there is a sprawling mango tree ladden with fruits. On the stem of the mango tree is seated Jina (Neminātha) in *dhyānāsana*. The goddess is clad in a finely carved *sārī* and a scarf. She is gracefully decorated with sparac but elegant ornaments such as armlet, bracelet, necklace, and kuṇḍalas. Her hair is arranged in a elegant coiffure with two fold buns. The back slab contains the usual horizontal crossbar—plaque decoration in flow relief, aside from some flowering motif also.

45.8 cms X 24.5 cms.
c. 10th Cent. A.D.
Sandstone
Barkola (Dist. Bankura)
Figure - 1

2. Padmaprabha (Museum No. 5.215)

The standing figure of the Jina (Padmaprabha) is carved out on an almost rectangular stele (with slightly roundish top edges) in *kāyotsarga* pose. The figure has elongated earlobes and his hair is arranged in schematic curls with a prominent *uṣṇīṣa*. He is adorned with a flame bordered oval śiraścakra. The face of the Tīrthaṅkara is slightly mutilated. The Jina stands on a lotus, which is placed on a *pañcaratha*

pedestal. The central projection of the pedestal bears the Lānchana—lotus, of the Tīrthaṅkara Padmaprabha. Inner facets of the pedestal bear two crouching lions, while the outer most facets are left blank. The back slab is bare. Two male caurī bearers are placed on either side of the lower corners. The twin vidyādharas are placed at the upper corners, hovering in the conventional representation of clouds with garlands. Top of the stele contains a mutilated *chatra* and a drum and a pair of cymbals struck by disembodied hands.

55 cms x 26.5 cms.
c. 11th cent. A.D.
Greyish Chlorite stone
Salda, Visnupur (Dist. Bankura)
Figure - 2

3. Śāntinatha (Museum No. 5.32)

The standing figure of the Jina (Śāntinātha) on a lotus, which is placed on *tri-ratha* pedestal, in *kāyotsarga* pose. The central projection of the pedestal bears the Lañchana of Śāntinātha (Tortoise), while the remaining facets on either side are left blank. On the back slab there is one vertical pose with horizontal crossbar on which two triangular plaques. Ovoidal Śiraścakra is surmounted by a (mutilated) *chatra*. The Jina is flanked by two *cāmaradharas* on either side of the lower corners. The sculpture is plain and bare and does not contain the usual elements of the Parikara (i.e. the Vidyādhara couple or the heavenly magicians). The sculpture is highly corroded.

22 cms x 15 cms.
C, 10th Cent. A.D.
Sandstone
Barkola (Dist. Bankura)
Figure 3

4. An Image of Jina (Museum No. 5.93)

The standing figure of the Jina in *kāyotsarga* pose on a lotus, is placed on a *tri-ratha* pedestal. The central projection of the pedestal bears the Lāñchana. But it is beyond recognition. Possibly the Lāñchana is Makara (of Suvidhinātha?); outer facets of the pedestal are left blank. On the back slab there is one vertical pose with a horizontal crossbar,

on which are two triangular plaques. Oval Śiraścakra is surmounted by a (multilated) *chatra*. The Jina is flanked by two *cāmaradharas* on either side of the lower corners. The sculpture is remarkably plain and bare. It does not contain the usual elements of the Parikara. The sculpture is highly corroded.

23.2 cms x 15 cms.
c. 10th cent. A.D./Greenish Chlorite stone,
Barkola (Dist. Bankura)
Figure 4

5. Head Torso (Jina) (Museum No. 5.11)

Head of a Jina image with elongated earlobes and hair is arranged in schematic curls, possibly with a *uṣṇīṣa* (now broken away). The face of the image is with dropping eyelids and sports a sublime smile. The face of the image is slightly mutilated.

20.2 cms.
c. 10th cent. A.D.
Sandstone
Parihati (Dist. Midnapore)
Figure 5

6. Śāntinātha (Museum No. 5.212)

The Jina stands on a lotus in *kāyotsarga samapādasthānaka*, which is placed on a *tri-ratha* pedestal. A stylized lotus creeper with scrolled leaves and buds (or a half-bloomed lotus) occupies the central projection of the pedestal, under which there is a *lāñchana* an antelope. On either side of the lotus there is a kneeling postured female figure in *añjali-mudrā*. One of the outer registers (left) of the pedestal bears the figure of a crouching lion, while the other outer register (right) bears a kneeling figure of a female devotee in *añjali-mudrā* and a crouching lion (pedestal of the sculpture is not properly projected in the photograph). The Jina has elongated earlobes and his hair is arranged in schematic curls with a small *uṣṇiṣa*. On either side stands male *cauri* bearers (faces are mutilated) on a half-bloomed lotus. On the edge of the back slab eight Jyotiṣkadevas are arranged in a vertical row of four on either side of the Jina. Those on the dexter side appear to be Sūrya, Maṅgala, Bṛhaspati and Śani, while those on the sinister side are Soma, Budha, Śukra, and



Figure No:
1. Ambikā (Museum No.5.52)



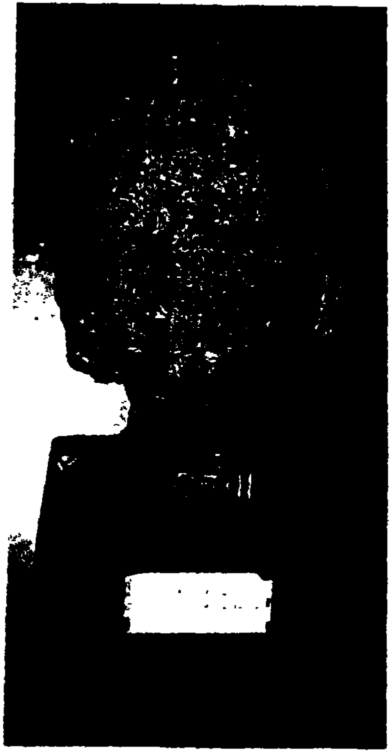
2. Padmaprabha (M.No.5.215)



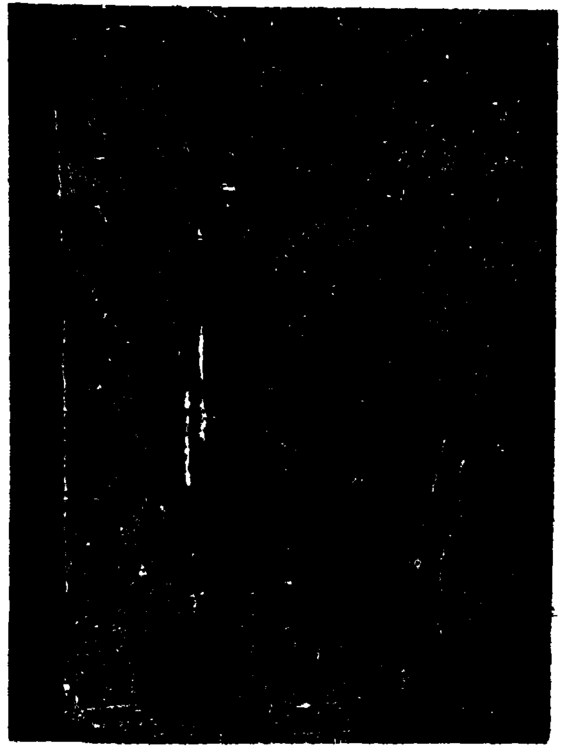
3. Śāntinātha (M.No.5.32)



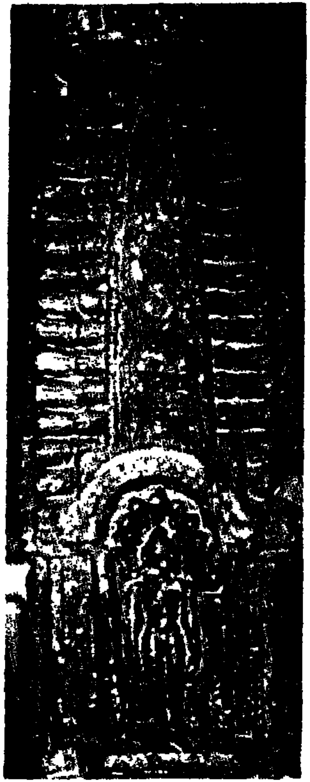
4. An Image of Jina (M.No.5.93)



5. Head Torso (Jina) (M.No.5.11)



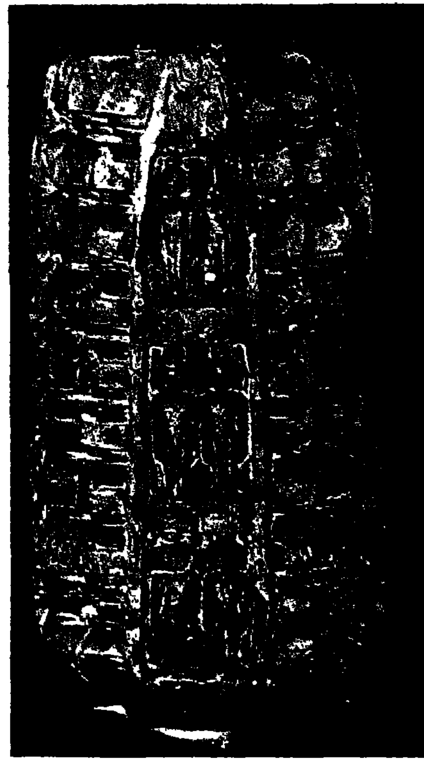
6. Śāntinātha (M.No.5.212)



7. Miniature Jain Caturmukha Shrine (M.No.5.68)



8. Miniature Jain Caturmukha Shrine (M.No.5.266)



9. Miniature Jain Caturmukha Shrine (M.No.5.72) (Fragment)

Rāhu; on the back slab there is one vertical pose with a horizontal crossbar, on which are two triangular plaques. The ovoidal shape *śiraścakra* is ornamented with intericate pattern of beads and flame-tongued border device and also with flowering twigs on either side. The top of the stele is ornamented with the tri-linear *chatra* over the head of the Jina (it is not properly projected in the picture). Vidyādharas are placed in a flying posture holding garlands and also a drum and a pair of cymbals struck by its embodied hands.

93 cms x 48 cms
c. 9th cent. A.D.
Greenish Chlorite stone
Rajpara, Jhargram (Dist. Midnapore)
Figure 6

7. Miniature Caturmukha Shrine (Museum No. 5.68)

This votive Jain *caturmukha* shrine is represented in the form of a miniature rekha temple of the *tri-ratha* type. The tower rises in a slow curve. The flat *āmalaka* is mutilated. The central pagas are embellished with floral motifs. Above the *pādapīṭha*, deep niches have been curved on the extended plane of the central projection. Each contains a standing figure of the Tīrthaṅkara in *kāyotsarga* pose under a *chatra* with two *cauri* bearers on either side of the lower corners. On its four facets, there are figures of Jain Tīrthaṅkaras, one of which could be identified as Pārśvanātha while the *lāñchana* of the other three are mutilated beyond recognition. The upper facets of the niches are projected out in the shape of an arch and are flung out on two sides, which rest on thin pilasters. The *pādapīṭha* consists of three lower mouldings (It is not properly projected in this picture).

50 cms x 15 cms.
c. 11th cent. A.D.
Sandstone/Parihati (Dist. Midnapore)
Figure 7.

8. Miniature Caturmukha Shrine (Museum No. 5. 266)

This miniature *caturmukha* shrine is represented in the form of *rekha*-temple of the *tri-ratha* type. The tower rises in a slow curve and is surmounted by a roundiah *āmalaka*. The *finial* has been broken away. All

four central pagas are embellished with two shallow niches, which are arranged in vertical order holding a couple of Jina figures in each. Above the *pādapīṭha*, deep inches have been carved on the extended plane of the central projection. Each contains a standing Tīrthaṅkara with two *caurī* bearers on either side of the lower corner. On its four facets are figures of Jain Tīrthaṅkaras, which could be identified as Ajitanātha (*lāñchana*-elephant), Candraprabha (*lāñchanna*-crescent), Padmaprabha (*lāñchana*=lotus) and the other one consists of an indistinct *lānchana*. All stands on lotus in *kāyotsarga* pose. The upper facets of the niches are projected out in the shape of an arch and are flung out on two sides, which rest on this pilasters. The *pādapiṭha* consists of three lower mouldings.

45 cms x 15 cms
c. 11th cent. A.D.
Sandstone
Locality Unknown (But in West Bengal)
Figure 8

9. *Miniature Caturmukha Shrine (Fragment)*
(Museum No. 5.72)

It is a part of a miniature rekha temple type Jain votive *caturmukha* shrine. The *Pādapīṭha* portion and the *āmalaka* have been broken away. The tower rises in a slow curve. All four central pagas are embellished with three shallow niches, which are arranged in vertical order, each holding two standing Jain Tīrthaṅkara figures in *kāyotsarga* pose.

30 cms x 15.4 cms.
c. 10th cent. A.D.
Sandstone
Charra (Dist. Purulia)
Figure 9

Lastly it can be inferred that from the days of Lord Mahāvīra, Bengal (undivided) was one of the great centres of Jainism. Due to lack of information, about the state of Jainism in the pre-Gupta period, very little is known. The only inscription discovered from Paharpur proves how popular the Jain Digambara religion was in north Bengal during Gupta period. In this regard the Chinese account of the second quarter of the 7th cent. A.D. by Yuan-Chwang mentioned the immense popularity

of Jainism in Puṇḍravardhana and Samataṭa. Afterwards, in post-Gupta period there is no literary evidence as well as any inscription about the state of Jainism in Bengal. Possibly from 10th cent. A.D. Jainism in Bengal started to decline.

On account of various excavations and survey of antiquarians, particularly in Bankura,[44] Purulia,[45] parts of Midnapore[46] and Burdwan,[46a] a large number of Jain icons and temples have been discovered, which proves the popularity of Jainism even in the Pāla period, though till now there is no reference to royal patronage in Pāla-Sena epigraphs. It is regrettable to say that in the remote villages of West Bengal many sculptural pieces and architectural fragments associated with Jainism are lying in a neglected condition and revered by the villagers as Brahmanical god and goddess or as Buddha. These need thorough documentation and careful preservation in order to keep and save the ancient Jain heritage intact in Bengal as soon as possible.

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43, 43a. The author would like to express his gratefulness to Dr. Gautam Sengupta (Director) Directorate of Archaeology, West Bengal; and M.P.K. Mitra (Officer-in-charge) State Archaeological Museum, West Bengal for their various suggestions and help, during the preparation of this paper.

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List of Photographs with Captions

Tantra and Jainism

R.N. Nandi

The early middle ages in India which roughly span a millenium from the third to the twelfth Christian century constituted a remarkable period of theistic movements. The theistic afflorescence was a phased one and at once marked by many developments which were unknown before. The more important of these were the beginnings of idol worship, rise of temples and monastic institutions, the formation of sects and sub-sects, the emergence of new ideologies such as *bhakti* and *advaita* and the origin of new liturgical systems such as the *tantra*. While all other developments are undeniably associated with Jainism, it is commonly believed that Jainism, puritanical as it was, kept away from tantric ideas and rituals. Quite contrary to this belief Jain sects, particularly the Digambaras who were considered hardcore puritans, were as engrossed in tantric practices as any other sect of the time.

Esoterism which plays a major part in tantric cults was already rampant in the earliest scriptures of the Jains despite canonical denunciation. The *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* refers to the Jains (*syādvādins*) who were sansualists.[1] The *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* mentions curative spells,[2] and the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* speaks of men who practice incantations and conjuring to make one happy or miserable.[3]

In the early medieval period magical practices became part of the secular literature of the Jains. These practices which are not really different from the similar rites mentioned in the *Jvālinīkalpa* and the *Bhairavapadmāvatī Kalpa*, constitute a preparatory phase in the ultimate development of Jaina tantricism. The *Samarāiccakahā*, a work of the eight century, refers to the practice of hypnotism '*Vaśīkaraṇa*' which is called here *Kammana*.[4] It signifies the act of winning a person, overpowering one's senses, and making a person subject to one's will. The practice is also mentioned in the *Upamitibhavaprapañcakahā*, which also belongs to the eight century. It speaks of Ripudaraṇa, who was charmed by the magicfist of *tantravādī* Yogeśvara and changed his nature.[5] The *Nāyādhammakahā* states that a mixture of magic powders is to be used for hypnotism or *vaśīkaraṇa*.

In a tantric milieu these incipient elements of esoterism could easily fructify into gross tantric cults as indeed one can see from the *Jvālinī Kalpa* and the *Bhairava Padmāvatī Kalpa* both of which were authored by Digambara monks of Karnataka. The *Jvālinī Kalpa*, which still remains in the manuscript stage was brought out in 939 by Indranandin who was a member of the Draviḍa Saṅgha. The other work, which appeared in 1047 is available in a Gujarati edition. The author of this work was Mallisena, also a member of the Draviḍa Saṅgha. The two texts seem to integrate tantric liturgies sacred to two *yakṣiṇīs* or guardian-angels attending on two different Tīrthaṅkaras. The select *yakṣiṇīs*, respectfully called *Śāsanadevī*, represent popular mother deities of the Jainas.

Jvālāmālinī, the guardian spirit of the eight Tīrthaṅkara Candraprabha,[6] was one of the most widely invoked Yakṣiṇīs in Karnataka during the early medieval period. She appears to have been recruited from the puranic pantheon. The *Vāyu Purāṇa*[7] associates *jvālā* or the glow of fire with the phallic emblem of Śiva. In the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*[8] Jvālinī, who is the same as Jvālāmālinī, is recognised as the goddess of fire glow and as a Śakti. The *Matsya Purāṇa* mentions Jvālāmukhī, the lady vomitting fire, as a mother goddess.[9] The Digambara mythology also represents the goddess Jvālāmālini as the lady of fire glow. Her iconic forms show flames issuing forth in an upward directions from her head.[10] The *Jvālinī Kalpa* also refers to the goddess as Vahni Devī or the fire goddess.[11] Elsewhere it describes her as adorned with the rising flames of the fire.[12]

According to the *Jvālinī Kalpa*, the cult was started by a tantric teacher of the monastic order called Draviḍa Gaṇa. The teacher, known as Helācārya, wanted to rid Kamalaśrī, his lady associate, of an evil spirit called Brahmarākṣasa,[13] and for that purpose he went to the summit of Nilgiri hill where he started worshipping the goddess according to the prescribed rites. On the seventh day the goddess appeared and advised him to write an incantation on a sheet of iron and use it against the malignant spirit. She also instructed him to systematise the occult lore sacred to her. Thus began the tantric worship of Jvālāmālinī.

No precise date of the beginning of the cult can be given. Conjecturally, it may be stated that the cult was started by Helācārya in the second quarter of the ninth century. This follows from the fact that the four teachers, who preceded Indranandī the final author of *Jvālinī Kalpa*, lived before 939.[14] These four teachers where Gaṅgamuni, Nīlagrīva, Kandarpa and Guṇanandi. Calculating at the rate of 25 years

for each generation of teachers, we may place Helācarya between 819 and 839.

The locality where Helācārya propounded his system is described as Malaya Hemagrāma in the south identifiable with Maleyur in the Chamrajanagar taluk of the Mysore district.[15] Nilgiri, where Helācarya invoked the goddess, may be identified with the hillocks lying in the neighbourhood of the village Maleyur,[16] which was an important centre of the Jains during the period of Helācārya and his disciples. This is indicated by a local inscription dated 909.[17] It registers a grant in favour of the Jaina temple at Kanakagiri *tīrtha*. The gift was received by Kanakasena Bhaṭṭāraka. Kanakagiri, evidently, was an ancient name of the present Maleyur village or the Hemagrāma mentioned in the *Jvālinī Kalpa*.

The composition of the *Jvalinī Kalpa* may have influenced the development of the Jvālinī cult. The treatise was completed in 939, and from the eleventh century we come across clear notices of the ritual cult of the goddess. At Javuru, modern Javur in the Navalagunda taluk of the Dharwar district, there lay a temple of Jvālāmālinī[18] which was erected by a monk sometime before 1059.[19] Sedimba, modern Sedam, was another centre of the cult. A record of the twelfth century states that the city elders of t. ; town of Sedam performed exorcising rites in honour of the goddess Jvālāmālini of the town.[20] The deity of Sadamba is described as goddess Jvālinī wearing golden ear-rings. At Ponnur there developed yet another centre of the goddess in the thirteenth century. An image of the deity has been found in the *mahāmaṇḍapa* of the temple of Ādinatha at Ponnur.[21]

The cult of Jvālāmālinī was a tantric form of worship. This is evident from inscriptions which refer to the performance of exorcising rites in honour of the goddess.[22] Her conception as the giver of occult powers, which could split asunder the fortified gates of the enemies,[23] also points out the tantric nature of her cult.

The inscriptional records fragmentary as they are, however, reveal only the tip of the iceberg. For a full view of the development one needs to turn to the formal tantric texts of the Jainas, the *Jāvalinī Kalpa* and the *Bhvairava Padmāvatī Kalpa*. The first work devotes one chapter called *vaśyatantrādhikāra* to the rites and syllabic formulas relating to hypnotism, *vaśīkaraṇa*. Another chapter deals with the mystic diagrams connected with the ritual of *vaśīkaraṇa*.[24] The *Bhairava Padmāvatī Kalpa* also deals with the hypnotism of women[25] and the three worlds.

Another magic rite *śānti*, which implies the cure of ills and expulsion of evil spirits, has its parallels in the Jaina texts. The

Vavahārasutta refers to a spell by which an occultist could command the disease to leave the patient.[26] The *Samarāiccakahā* mentions the magic herbs which could cure all wounds.[27] Dharaṇa is reported to have cured a Śabara chief of his fractured skull with the help of a magic herb. Similar reference are found in both the *Jvālinī Kalpa* and the *Bhairava Padmāvatī Kalpa*, which speak of the regular tantric rite of Śānti.

The *Jvālinī Kalpa* prescribes a herbal preparation to cure a person of sterility. It shows that by offering oblation to Devadatta, the male partner of Jvālāmālinī the devotee seeks protection from accidental death. The worshipper also prays for health, prosperity, longevity, freedom from disease and wealth. A tonic preparation made from cowdung, cow's urine, banana, butter etc. is also prescribed. The ritual relating to the *vasudhārāsnāna* of Jvālāmālinī is supposed to protect the devotee against all sorts of diseases and all types of death.[28] Similar curative rituals are also found in the *Bhairava Padmāvatī Kalpa*. It lays down that the *yantra* or the mystic diagram should be written with sandal paste upon a plate of bronze, and water poured on this device should be collected and administered to the sick as a drink to remove the fever of the most intense type.[29] It was also a remedy for burning fever.[30]

Some other magical practices which figure in the early Jaina literature and which later develop into tantric rites may also be noted here. One such practice was to make a person sleep. The *Nāyādhammakahā* states that Draupadī was put to sleep before the foetus was transferred from her womb.[31] The *Bhairava Padmāvatī Kalpa* also refers to a mystic formula which, if uttered for one hundred thousand times, makes the enemy suddenly fall asleep.[32]

Another magical practice was to make oneself invisible. The *Samarāiccakahā* refers to the magical shawl by wearing which a person could become invisible.[33] Similarly the robber Caṇḍarudra could make himself invisible by rubbing a magic pill called *paradiṭṭi mohāni* to his eyes. The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* also speaks of it.[34] The *Bhairava Padmāvati Kalpa* refers to a talisman, which, if kept inside the mouth, can make its user invisible to others.[35]

The use of magical substances formed as much a part of occult practices as they did in relation to tantric rituals. In the *Nāyādhammakahā*, a woman tries to win the love of her husband by using magic powders.[36] The *Surasundarīcaria* mentions a powder which could make a person mad.[37]

The *Jvālinī Kalpa* and the *Bhairava Padmāvatī Kalpa* mention the use of magical substances for abduction of women, successful coition,

securing fertility to women and preventing conception. They are also to be used for creating enmity between persons, causing death to enemies, etc. The *Jvālinī Kalpa* prescribes a complicated herbal preparation for attracting women. Equal measures of cloves (*lavaṅga*), saffron (*kumkum*), the mesua roxburghi (*nāgakeśara*), the andropagon muricasus (*uśīram*), white mustard seeds (*rājikā*), cardamom (*elā*), red arsenic or reaglar (*kunaṭi*), the plant of costus speciosus (*kuṣṭam*) used as a remedy for the disease known as takṣaṇa, the fragrant powder prepared from the plant tabernaemontana coronaria (*tagaram*), white lotus (*utpalam*), yellow pigment (*gorocanā*) sandal wood (*śrīkhaṇḍam*), basil (*tulasī*), cerasus puddum (*padmakam*) and wrightia antidysenterica (*kutaja*) are to be mixed and ground together by a girl.[38] The powder mixed with cold water is to be applied as a caste mark (*tilaka*) on the forehead by a person to bring a woman under his control.

The same preparation is prescribed in the *Bhairava Padmāvatī Kalpa*, which also refers to certain magic objects to be used during sexual intercourse. By tying the bone of the right thigh of a black cat around his waist, a person is able to retain the flow of his semen for a longer time.[39]

The use of magic circles (*maṇḍala*) for attaining occult powers was a feature of the tantric cults. The magic circle could be used as a vantage ground from where spirits could be summoned and also as a barrier from which they had no escape.[40] The Jaina literary texts represent the magic circle as an occult symbol. The *Samaraiccakhā*[41] relates how one night the Vidyādhara Cakrasen sat in the *padmāsana* posture, drew a *maṇḍala*, performed *mudrās*, and recited the *mantra* for one lac times. All this anticipates tantric rites described in the *Jvālinī Kalpa* and the *Bhairava Padmāvatī Kalpa*. The *Supārśvanāthacarita*[42] refers to the Siddhaputra Yaśodhara who, accompanied by his Uttarasādhikā, goes to a cremation ground where he draws a magic circle, lights a fire of Khadira wood, and recites *mantras*. The *Jvālinī Kalpa* and the *Bhairava Padmāvatī Kalpa* also recommend a similar ritual.[43] The rituals prescribed in the former text were to be performed on the specific nights of the dark fortnight,[44] just as the Siddhaputra performed this ritual on the 14the night of the dark fortnight.[45]

The magic circle and its related rites led to the development of the tantric systems. In the *Samaraiccakahā* the Yakṣiṇī Ajitabalā is invoked with the help of the magic circle, recitation of syllabic formulae, performance of gestures with fingers (mudrā),[46] just as in the *Jvālinī Kalpa*, Yakṣiṇī Jvālāmālinī is invoked with the aid of mystic diagrams, syllabic incantations, gestures of fingers and so forth. In both the cases

the deity is a Jaina Yakṣiṇī, guardian angel of the Tīrthaṅkaras, and in both cases the rites are similar. The rites of the magic circle in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, when compared with the rituals connected with the worship of the mystic diagram in the *Jvalinī Kalpa*, lead to the same conclusion. In the former work we find a priest drawing magic circle on the earth,[47] just as the ritualist does in the *Jvālinī Kalpa*.[48] In both cases the worshippers perform the *nyāsa* ritual by placing in the different parts of the magic circle the different deities and apparitions. In the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* the priest represents various planets, Rudras, the mothers, Skanda, Viṣṇu, Viśākha, guardians of quarters, divine ladies and others by drawing figures with coloured powders.[49] The *Jvālinī Kalpa* represents the mothers, the guardians of quarters, the divine ladies, and the principal deity by their figures.[50] In some cases, however, only chief deity is represented by a figure, and the other divinities are symbolised by incantations sacred to each of them. Both the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* and the *Jvālinī Kalpa* place the deities and spirits within the magic circle, where they are to be worshipped with the help of flowers, scented paste, garlands and food offerings.[51]

The few essentials of tantric cults include prayers and formulae (*mantras*), syllables of mystic significance peculiar to each deity (*bījas*), mystic diagrams drawn on papers, leaves, precious stones, metals (*yantra*), special ritual positions of fingers and movements of hands (*mudrās*), and placing the deity on the different parts of the body by touching them with finger tips and the palm mostly of the right hand (*nyāsas*).[52] These are the means by which the devotee (*sādhaka*) invokes and identifies himself with his chosen deity (*iṣṭadevatā*).[53] The Jaina tantric cults possess all these features.

In the tantric system *mantras* constituted mystic words possessing esoteric significance. Intense meditation on certain mystic words, sacred to chosen deities was supposed to produce photic phenomena and bring before the worshipper's eyes an image of the divinity concerned.[54]. The *Jvālinī Kalpa* mentions *mantras* or mystic words, which are mainly prayers communicating particular desires of the worshipper.

In the third chapter, the *mantras* aim at placating evil spirits. Each of the *mantras* referred to in this chapter is associated with a particular *mudrā*.[55] This suggests that a particular *mantra* could be effective only when uttered in the prescribed *mudrā*. Similarly, in the eight chapter, the *mantras* are prayers offered to divinities for protection against death, disease, accident as also for health, prosperity and longevity.[56] A second type of *mantras* may be characterised as invocatory formulae consisting of mystic syllables. These aim at

invoking the deity and not at communicating any desires. Invocatory *mantras* are more unintelligible than the prayer *mantras*, for these consist of only the *bījas* or seed words. For example, *uu kaumārī namaḥ ān kroṇ svāhā* aims at invoking the goddess Kaumārī. Such *bīja mantras* are met with in chapter six, which deals with the propoitiation of 8 mothers. The bāja mantra invoking the mothers consist of two *bīja* prefixed to the name of the mother. The name of the mother, in its turn, is suffixed by the invocation *namaḥ ān kroṇ svāhā*.[57] The invocation remains the same in all cases although the *bīja* differs in every case.

The next essential element of the tantric cults was *mudrā*, the special position of fingers and movement of hands. In chapter three of the *Jvālinī Kalpa* we come across a detailed account of the different forms of *mudrās*. These may be enumerated as the *jaṭharabhedana mudrā* for piercing the belly, the *galamocana mudrā* for cutting the throat, the *antracchedana mudrā* for cutting the intestines, the *vidyunmudrā* for striking with the lightning, the *majjana mudrā* for drowning in the deep seas, the *sarvakarmamudrā* for meting out all tortures to evil spirits, the *śikhimudrā* or the *gadāmudrā* for giving a blow of the mace, the *akṣiṣphoṭana mudrā* for piercing the eyes, the *churikā mudrā* for striking with a knife, and so forth. It will be seen that most of the *mudrās* are of a terrific nature and are associated with the plucking of evil spirits which take possession of human beings.

Compared to this the *Bhairava Padmāvatī Kalpa* refers to different *mudrās* for different categories of rituals. Thus, the *aṅkuśā mudrā* is prescribed for attracting persons, the *saroja mudrā* for bringing a person under control, the *Jñāna mudrā* for cure of diseases and increase of health (*puṣṭi*), the *pallava mudrā* for creating enmity between persons, the *śaṅkha mudrā* for stunning or paralysing a person, and the *vajra mudrā* for killing the enemies.[58]

Mystic diagrams (*yantras*) occupy a prominent place in the tantric cults. A yantra is supposed to represent the body of the deity, and is also described as the house of the divinity or divinities to be invoked. In its various parts it is supposed to represent the origin, maintenance, and dissolution of the world of things, the dot in the centre symbolising unitary world ground.[59] The *bīja mantra* or the Śakti goddess is mentally placed in the various projections of its constituent triangles and lotuses, its circles and squares.[60]

In chapter four of the *Jvālinī Kalpa*, the worshipper is enjoined to draw the magic circle called *sāmānya maṇḍala* on the cremation ground, or on the outskirts of a town, or in the central place of village, or at the

crossroads.[61] The circle to be drawn on plain ground should measure eight hands and have four gates,[62] and should be adorned with flags, mirror, bells as well as arches prepared from Aśvatha leaves.[63] Chapter six of the *Jvālinī Kalpa* describes several mystic diagrams which are intended for the rite of *vaśīkraṇa*. One such device is characterised as the *sarvarakṣā yantra* which consists of a 16-petalled lotus[64] surrounded by three circles in the ascending order.

Nyāsa, placing the deity in different parts of the body by touching them with the finger and palm, constitutes an important ritual of the tantric cults. The *Bhairava Padmāvatī Kalpa* refers to what is known as *svakīya aṅganyāsa*, whereby the devotee places the divinities in different parts of his body by uttering *mantras* sacred to each divinity.[65] The *Jvālinī Kalpa* also states that without *nyāsa*, the worshipper cannot be successful in the rites relating to the torture of evil spirits.[66] The entire ritual of *nyāsa* is referred to as *sakalikaraṇa*. The ritual starts with the *nyāsa* of the fingers of both hands with bījas *vaṃ, maṃ, haṃ, saṃ, taṃ*, etc. This is followed by the *nyāsa* of the left hand. The *nyāsa* of the different parts of the body is, however, different from that mentioned in *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra*. In the *Mahānirvāṇa* the *nyāsa* does not follow a descending or an ascending order.[67] But in the *Jvālinī Kalpa*, it starts from the legs and follows an ascending order.[68]

The above account shows that the tantric ideas and practices of the Jainas were more mundane and utilitarian in nature than spiritual or transcendental. There is not much indication of a salvation theory based on plexus concepts. Nor is there any attempt to develop a yogic practice to channelize bio-motor and bio-electric forces along the six plexuses in the ascending order to attain sublime bliss. Evidently, the recourse to the supernatural was intended to gain uncanny powers and fulfil wordly desires. For a large majority of people, these seem to characterize a helpless mind afflicted by growing social and economic disentitlement in changing material conditions of life.

NOTES

1. *Sthānāṅga*, 4.4, cited in Chintaharan Chakrabarti, *Tantras: Studies on Their Religion and Literature*, p. 16.
2. *Uttarādhyayana*, cited in Chakrabarti, *op.cit.*
3. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, cited in Chakrabarti, *op.cit.*
4. *Samara*, p. 108, cited in *JA*. 8, no. 1, p. 20.
5. *Upamiti*., p. 720, cited in *JA*., *op.cit.*
6. P.B. Desai, *Jainism in Karnataka*, pp. 143 ff.

7. *Vā.Pur.*, ch. 55, vv. 17-61, cited in V.R.R. Dihshitar, *Purāṇa Index* Vol. 1, p. 658.
8. *Bra. Pur.*, 4.44.72, cited in Dihshitar, *Pur. Ind.*, *op.cit.*
9. *Mat.Pur.*, 179.32.33, cited in Dihshitar, *Pur.Ind.*, *op.cit.*
10. Desai, *op. cit.*
11. *Jvālinī*, ch. 1. A paper manuscript of this work is preserved in the Jaina Siddhanta Bhavan Library, Arrah (Bihar).
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-4.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.
15. Premi, *Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa*. p. 460.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*
18. Desai, *op.cit.*, p. 143.
19. *Ibid.*
20. Desai, *op.cit.*, p. 259 ff.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 261.
23. *Ibid.*,
24. *Jvālinī*, ch. 9, ch. 7.
25. *Bhairava*, ch. 9, ch. 7, vv. 18-19.
26. *Vavahāra.*, cited in *JA*, *op.cit.*, p. 10.
27. *Samara.*, pp. 415-17 and 423-27, cited in *JA*, *op.cit.*, p.22
28. *Jvālinī*, ch. 9, ch. 10.
29. *Bhairava*, ch. 7, vv. 3-5.
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Nāyā*, cited in *JA*, vol. 8, no. 2, p. 11.
32. *Bhairava*, ch. 7, v. 23.
33. *Samara*, p. 329, cited in *JA*, vol. 8, no. 1, p.17.
34. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, 2.2.15, cited in *JA*, vol. 8, no. 1, p.18.
35. *Bhairava*, ch. 9, vv. 23-24.
36. *Nāyā*, pp. 186-87, cited in *JA*, vol. 8. no. 1, p.20.
37. *Surasundarī*, 8, 201, cited in *JA*, *op.cit.*
38. *Jvālinī*, ch. 7 : *Bhairava*, ch. 9, vv. 1-3.
39. *Bhairava*, ch. 9, v. 26.
40. *JA.*, 8, no. 2, p. 64-65.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
43. *Jvālinī*, ch. 5.
44. *Ibid.*, ph. 3.
45. *JA*. 8, no, 2, p. 62.
46. *Samara*, cited in JA., *op.cit.*, p. 60.
47. *Br.Sam.*,. ch. 48, v. 24.
48. *Jvālinī*, ch. 4.
49. *Br. Sam.*, *op.cit.*

50. *Jvālinī*, ch. 4.
51. *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, *op.cit.*, *Jvālinī*, ch. 4.
52. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 318.
53. *Ibid.*
54. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 324.
55. *Jvālinī*, ch. 3.
56. *Ibid.*, ch. 8.
57. *Jvālinī*, ch. 6. *ra ra vaiṣṇavī namaḥ āṅ kroṇ svāhā*
58. *Bhairava*, ch. 3, v. 8.
59. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 326.
60. *Ibid.*
61. *Jvālinī*, ch. 4.
62. *Ibid.*
63. *Ibid.*
64. *Ibid.*, ch. 6, *Ṣaḍaśasatkalānvita vakāra vṛtaṃ śaśimaṇḍalvṛtam svarāvutayanta veṣṭyāmin bimbavṛtaṃ svaravutapavṛtam.*
65. *Bhairava*, ch, v. 3. ch. *oṃ namo arihantānaṃ hrau śinaṣami rakṣa rakṣa svāhā*
66. *Jvālinī*, ch. 3, cf. *sakalikaraṇana vinā mantri stambhādi nigrahaṃ vidhāno asamarthastanādau sakalikaraṇaṃ pravakṣyāmi.*
67. Avalon, *The Great Liberation*, ch. 5, vv. 71-179.
68. *Jvālinī*, ch. 3.

ABBREVIATIONS

Br. Sam.	-	*Bṛhat Saṃhitā*
Bhairava	-	*Bhairava Padmāvatī Kalpa*
Bra.Pur.	-	*Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*
J.A.	-	*Jain Antiquary*
Jvālinī	-	*Jvālinī Kalpa*
Mat.pur.	-	*Matsya Purāṇa*
Nāyā	-	*Nāyādhammakahā*
Pur. Ind.	-	*Purana Index*
Samara	-	*Samarāiccakahā*
Sthānāṅga	-	*Sthānāṅga Sūtra*
Surasundarī	-	*Surasundarīcaria*
Upamiti	-	*Upamitibhavaprapañcakahā*
Uttarādhyayana	-	*Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*
Vavahāra	-	*Vavahārasutta*
Vā.Pur.	-	*Vāyu Purāṇa*

Search for a Research Methodology With Ancient Indians

S.D. Laddu

Introductory

The vast Sanskrit literature of India, both in its intellectual-argumentative side as well as in the lighter one, can be seen permeated with a number of suggestions on the modes of discussion that took place in ancient India and on how, according to them, the search after truth ought to be carried. Not only has this been reflected in the large philosophical literature with its commentaries and sub- commentaries, but often its echoes are to be found in the non- scientific literature as well. In fact it can very well be said that, besides the Upaniṣadic sages, the ancient Indian scholars belonging to different schools of thought and genres of literature were haunted with knowing the truth and with discovering the highways and byways towards that goal. It will be an endeavour here to see very briefly how far they showed acquaintance with the principles and procedures of research that we in modern times hold high in our enquiries.

(I) VALUE OF TRUTH (KNOWLEDGE)

Importance of knowledge (*Jñāna*), another term for truth (*Satya*), has been praised from the Ṛgvedic times, chiefly through the famous *Jñānasūkta* (*RV* 10.71). Yāska has forcefully referred to the same through verses[1] quoted from his predecessors on *jñānapraśaṁsā* and *ajñānanindā* (*Nirukta* 1.18). The Lord, in the *Bhagavadgītā*[2] (4.38), gives knowledge the place of top most respect. And Patañjali in the *Mahābhāṣya* (*M*) quotes a line[3] (I.1.18-19) recommending pursuit of knowledge for the sake of knowledge. He also warns[4] (M 1.2.25.26) that ignorance or lack of knowledge cannot be a final or absolute excuse.

(II) NATURE AND OBJECT OF KNOWLEDGE

1. Perfection and Accuracy

Patañjali, in his own way (M III. 58.14-15), empahasizes the fact that whatever is to be studied should be studied well and thoroughly.[5] The slightest flaw in utterance (especially in the Vedic one) was apt to prove disastrous, as the *M* (I.2.11-12) and the *Pāṇinīya Śikṣā* (52) record[6] on the word *indra-śatr*, or as the *M* (I.1.22.-2.2) on the word *sthūla-pṛṣatī* from an untraced *mantra.*[7]

The object of knowledge has thus to be viewed in its totality and from all possible angles, verily like a circular berry placed on the palm of the hand (*hastāmalaka* or *karabadara*). Possesser of such, i.e, thorough, knowledge is described as 'well-baked' (*vi-dagdha*), with a metaphor drawn from an earthen pot.

2. Vastness of Knowledge and the Holistic Approach

The extent of linguistic usage (through which all knowledge is treasured and transmitted) is very vast, as Patañjali points out[8] (*M* I.9.20). He also narrates (*M* I. 5.25-27) how the most intelligent student like god Indra, sitting for divine long years at the feet of Lord Bṛhaspati, the greatest teacher, could not exhaust the store of learning.

Further, knowledge has no artificial walls or compartmentlisations, and must be viewed as a whole, with a Gestalt approach. To use the latest vogue, it is of an 'interdisciplinary' nature. Bhartṛhari (*Vākyapadīya* II, 486) brings this out well.[9] Suśruta (*Sūtrasthāna* 4.7) stresses the fact that an enquirer must be conversant with many branches of knowledge.[10] One reading the Veda must also study its ancillary texts (Vedāṅgas). Not only that : according to the traditional understanding of a *Mahābhārata* stanza (1.1.204), one must not remain *alpa-śruta* but strengthen one's Vedic studies through interpretations or amplifications from the Itihāsa and Purāṇa texts.[11] And, one aiming at proficiency in the science of language was expected to be perfect in the branches of grammar, syntax and logic (*padavākyapramāṇapārāvarīṇa* at the same time.

3. Practical Limitations

The horizon of knowledge being thus limitless and ever-expanding, it would be a foolish ambition to think of covering its entire field, when

spending of one whole lifetime would not be enough for the pursuit, as has been aptly pointed out[12] by Patañjali (*M* I.6. 1-2). Hence, a student has perforce to narrow down or delimit the topic of his study. As the Pañcatantra (1) says,[13] one has to exercise one's judgment as to what is more important (*sāra*) and what is less important (*phalgu*) for one's purpose in hand.

(III) NEED OF TRAINING IN RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

As the same goal can be achieved by adopting any one of the many alternative courses, an untrained student is apt to drift afar along some avenues which belatedly prove to be time-consuming or even misleading. It is here that science (research methodology) or the research guide (*ācārya*) comes forward with help by playing the role of a friend ('*suhṛd bhūtvā*,' as Patañjali often says), and directs him onto the proper path: "this one, not the other." This sort of '*dharma- niyama*', in the words of Kātyāyana, is the function that is performed by the *śāstra* or the science (vide his very first *Vārttika)*, which has been further shortly later (*Vt.* 1.1.1.10) explained by him[14] as well as by Patañjali[15] (*M* I.20. 11-12). In other words, as Patañjali (*M* II. 74. 1-2) says,[16] the function of a science is to bring about order or system and to remove disorder of any kind.

There are many movements during the long course of study when one feels quite baffled as to the right decision on a particular point. This condition is described[17] in the *Bhagavadgitā* (4.16) as being passed through even by persons of experience. In such cases, one's authority (*pramāṇa*) should be either persons of maturity (*śiṣṭa*-s) as Patañjali says (*M* III..174.4-10 on Pānini's Sūtra 6.3. 109), or the science (*śāstra*) as the *Bhagavad-Gitā* (16.17) tells.[18]

(IV) BASIC QUALITIES & APPROACHES IN RESEARCH

1. Intellectual Curiosity

If one is filled with a compelling drive and passion to know the Truth and is fired with irrepressible curiosity (*Jijñāsā*), then alone can one succeed as a researcher. No research can be carried out in the absence of such an inward zeal. Sterling instances are provided through the strivings of Naciketas (*Kaṭhopaniṣad*) and Sāvitrī (*Maābhārata*).

2. Hard & Patient Work

The poet Bhartṛhari (*Nītiśataka* 3) has chastised[19] persons who on little knowledge, run to conclusions and dogmas. And Patañjali has recorded (*M* I.5.8-10) the tendency of some students who on studying the Veda feel it useless to study Grammar.[20] He has also noted a type of enquirers who, without exploring the vast Sanskrit literature spread along various dimensions, quickly express their inability in locating an expression; and censuring this rashness (*sāhasa*), he admonishes them (*M* I. 9.19-20) to carry on an untiring search over the whole range of literature.[21] For, as he often warns[22] (*M* I .68.16, etc.), observation of a single instance must not make one rush to a generalization. Drops of knowledge (i.e. single pieces of evidence) are to be collected bit by bit and every moment, with hard, patient and incessant work.[23] For one who does not prepare and who is after quick results and quick publicity, there is no hope of success or glory, as the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (7.15) warns.[24] Let students keep before them the dazzling example of the sun who untiringly continues to work for ages (*loc. cit.*).[25] One who puts up with perseverence, alone, attains the fruit (*loc.cit.*)[26] Physical and mental energies must be yoked to service, through a wholetime involvement and with deeper and deeper meditation[27] as Maitreyi was told by Yājñavalkya (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 2.4.5., 4.5.6).

3. Concentration and Self-Control

Perseverence needs the support of deep concentration. Let a scholar be branded as absent-minded, but he can hope to achieve something worthwhile only if his mind is absent from worldly joys and worries and is present only in the object of his study, verily like the grammarian Śākaṭāyana in the story related by Patañjali (*M* II.120. 20-23). His mind must be centred only on his problem, like that of Arjuna on the head of the artificial bird Bhāsa during the archery test held by Droṇācārya (*Mahābhārata I*.123.62-64).

Such concentration, however, is not easy to attain. Human mind by its very nature is very fickle and ever running in different directions. However, as the Lord has assured[28] (*Gītā* 6.35), it can be controlled through constant effort and detached attitude. And this is the mark of a strong-minded person, not to get perturbed in the face of a disturbing situation, as Kālidāsa asserts in the *Kumārasambhava*[29] (1.59) and in the *Raghuvaṁśa*[30] (8.90). An old adage[31] points out in simple language the fact that a person wanting to attain knowledge must be

prepared for worldly sacrifices.

4. Open & Receptive Mind

As years pass by, men develop certain inhibitions, such as consciousness of age, sex, learning etc., and feel it below their prestige to pay heed to the thoughts coming from those lower in age or learning or those of different sex etc. This mental make-up is very disastrous in any kind of study. There must not be the slightest room for any sense of superiority or jealousy, and a common observation[32] in this regard (from the *Nītiśataka* 2) about scholars needs to be falsified. Pure thoughts deserve to be received freely with open arms and from all the corners[33] (*Ṛgveda* 1.89.1). Truth emerges from continuous exchange of ideas as an old adage[34] points out, if only care is taken to maintain a free and friendly atmosphere[35] throughout (*RV* 10.71.2), where points are examined threadbare[36] (*loc cit*), fearlessly and with malice towards none. Thoughts on a position of superiority in practical life must find no room in the field of learning[37] as Manu tells us (2.238). It is the lofty idea or quality that is most important and it is that which deserves the highest respect, irrespective of age or sex, as Manu[38] (2.239), Kālidāsa[39] (*Raghuvaṁśa* 11.1d) and Bhavabhūti[40] (*Uttararāmacrita* 4.11d) join in telling us. Śaṅkarācārya made no difference between a cāṇḍāla and a brahmin in accepting one as his Guru[41] (*Manīṣāpañcaka* 5). And Varāhamihira (c.550 A.D.) exhibits a refreshingly open attitude[42] of respecting even the Mlecchas for their scientific advances, when he quotes Gargācārya approvingly in the *Bṛhatsaṁhita* (2.14).

5. Objective Reasoning

It is human weakness to respect all that is old (rather, all that is modern, these days!), but one must get over such ideas, tells Kālidāsa[43] in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* (I. 2). One must even brush aside attachment to one's own production, thought that is not easy; that is how Nārāyaṇānabhaṭṭatiri[44] of Kerala (17th c. A.D.) implores the critics, in his *Prakrivāsarvasva* (Intro. to Section 9), by asking them to be impartial judges of his work. No statement must smell of subjectivity, as Patañjali[45] (*M*. II. 198.15) says. It must be supported by evidence or reasoning, and in this regard the declarations of Mallinātha[46] (Introductions to Commentaries on the *Raghuvaṁśa* and *Kumārasambhava*) and Nārāyāṇabhaṭṭatiri[47] (Intro. to *Prakrivāsarvasva* Sec. 8) are worth noting for their emphasis on the importance of

evidence, exactness and firsthand checking.

6. Neatness of Presentation

The history of the word *kuśala* (and its derivative *kauśalya*) is worth recollecting : one who could pluck the *kuśa* or *darbha* grass (which possesses sharp points), without hurting one's fingers or hand, was a *kuśa-la*; but the fact that this activity required some kind of skill later gave the word the meaning of a skilled person. This semantic history underlines the need of charm and skill being added in every activity. Presentation of the results of researches also badly needs this skill, charm and neatness. In this context, Patañjali's explanation[48] (*M* II. 93 3-4) of Kātyāyana's statement, contrasting certain word-forms in regard to the ass-work and charming work denoted by them, may be remembered as a parallel.

7. Awareness of Limitation, or Humility

Very important in every researcher, this quality, unfortunately is rarely to be met with. This is so in spite of the glaring fact that fresh evidence can come to light at any moment and modify one's view even to a serious extent. *Vinaya* thus becomes a necessary complement to, not a mere ornament to, *vidyā*.[49] The Jaina theory of *Syādvāda* or comprehensiveness has to be understood as evincing this awareness. It is thus in fact scientific (rather than *virtuous*) to accept limitations of one's own knowledge and follow the famous advice[50] from the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (3.5.1).

CONCLUDING

The foregoing brief survey is enough to indicate the firmly founded scientific attitudes and approaches of the ancient and medieval Indians in their quest after truth.

ORIGINAL TEXTS

1. Sthānurayam bhārahāraḥ kīlābhūdadhītya vedaṃ na vijānāti yo'rtham,
   Yo'rthajñā it sakalaṃ bhadramaśmute nākameti jñānavidhūtapāpmā.

Yad gṛhitamavijñātaṃ nigadenaiva śabdyate.
Anangnāviva śuṣkougho na tajjvalati karhichit.

2. Na hi jñānena sadṛśām pavitramiha vidyate.
3. Brāhmaṇena niṣkāraṇo dharmaḥ saḍaṃgo vedo'dhyeyo jñeyaḥ. (ca).
4. Nātyantāya ajñānaṃ śaraṇaṃ bhavitumarhati.
5. Ekaḥ śabdaḥ ramyag jñātaḥ śāstrānvitah suprayuktaḥ svarge loke ca kāmadhugbhavati.
6. Duṣṭaḥ śabdaḥ (mantro hīnaḥ) svarato varṇatovā mithyāprayukto na tamarthamāha.
Ṣa vāgvajro yajamānaṃ hinasti yathendraśatruḥ svarato'parādhāt.
7. Sthūlapṛṣatimāgnivāruṇimanaḍvāhīmālabheta.
8. Mehān hi śabdasya prayogaviṣayaḥ.
9. Prajñā vivekaṃ labhate bhinnairāgamadarśanaiḥ.
10. Ekaṃ śāstramadhīyāno na vidyācchāste niścayaṃ.
Tasmād vahuśrutaḥ śāstraṃ vijānīyāchikitsakaḥ.
11. Itihāsapurāṇābhyāṃ vedaṃ samupabṛmhayet.
12. Tatra cāgamekālenaivāyuḥ paryupayuktaṃ syāt.
13. Anantapāraṃ kila śabdaśāstram
svalpaṃ talhā-āyurvahavaśca vighnāḥ
Sāram tato grāhyamapāśya phalgu
heṃso yathā kṣīramivāmbumadhyāt.
14. 'Kimarthem śāstram' it cet, nivartakatvāt siddham
15. Samāne cārthe śāstrānvito' aśāstrānvitasya nivartako bhavati.
16. Na hyavasthākāriṇā śāstreṇa bhavitavyam.
Śāstreṇa ea vyavasthākāriṇā bhavitavyam.
17. Kiṃ Karma Kimakarmei kavayo'pyatra mohitāḥ.
18. Tasmācchāstraṃ pramāṇaṃ te Kāryākārya vyavasthitau.
jñātvā śāstravidhānoktaṃ karma kartumiharhsi.
19. Jñāna durvidgdhaṃ brahmāpi naraṃ na rañjayati.
20. Vedamadhītya tvaritā vaktāro bhavanti—
"vedānno vaidikāḥ śabdāḥ siddhā lokācca laukikāḥ, anarthakaṃ vyākaraṇaṃ" iti
21. Upalabdho yatnaḥ kriyatām
22. Naikamudāharaṇaṃ yogārambhaṃ prayojayati
23. Kṣaṇaśaḥ kaṇaśaścaiva vidyāmarthaṃ ca sādhayet
24. Nānāśrāntāya śrīrastī.
25. Sūryasya paśya śremāṇaṃ yo na tandrayate caran.
26. Caran vai madhu vindati
27. Ātmā vā are draṣṭavya śrotavyo mantavyo nididhyāsitavyaḥ
28. Asaṃśayaṃ mahābāho mano durnigrahaṃ celam
Abhyāsena tu Kaunteya vairāgyena ca gṛhyate.
29. Vikārahetau sati vikriyante yeṣāṃ na cetaṃsi ta eva dhīrāḥ.
30. Drumasānumatāṃ kimantaraṃ yadi vāyou dvītaye'pi te catāḥ
31. Sukhārthinaḥ kuto vidyā, kuto vidyārthinaḥ sukhaṃ.

32. Boddhātro matsaragrastāḥ.
33. Ā no bhadrāḥ kratavo yantu visvataḥ.
34. Vāde vāde jāyate tattvabodhaḥ.
35. Atrā sakhāyaḥ sakhyāni Jānate.
36. Ṣaktumiva titaunā punantaḥ.
37. Średdhadhānaḥ śubhāṃ vidyāmādaditāvarādapi.
38. Bālādapi subhāṣitaṃ (grāhyaṃ).
39. Tejasāṃ hi na vayaḥ samikṣyate.
40. Guṇāḥ pūjāsthānaṃ, guṇiṣu ne ca liṅgaṃ na ca vayaḥ.
41. Caṇḍālo'stu se dvijo'stu gururityeṣā manīṣā mama.
42. Mlecchā hi yavanāsteṣu śāstrametat pratiṣṭhitem
Ṛṣivatte'pi saṃpūjyāḥ kim punardaivavid dvijaḥ.
43. Purāṇamityeva na sādhu sarvam,
na cāpi kāvyaṃ navamityavadyaṃ;
Santaḥ parīkṣyānyataradbhajante
muḍhaḥ parapratyayaneya buddhiḥ.
44. Svanirmitatvapraṇayāvakuṣṭhitaḥ
svakāryadoṣaṃ na buddho'pi budhyate;
Ato'tra sūrīn guṇadoṣabhedakān
maduktisaṃśodhanakāryamarthyate.
45. Na caitanmantevyaṃ svamanisikayā heyata iti.
46. Nāmūlaṃ likhyate kiṃcinnāṇapekṣitamucyate.
47. Na kimcidatra svakapolakalpitaṃ likhāmi śāstre kacidīkṣitaṃ vinā
48. Sakṛdapi yaḥ suṣṭhu karoti tatra yathā syāt, bahus'o'pi yo duṣṭu karoti tatra mā bhūt.
49. Vidyā vinayena śobhate.
50. Pāṇḍityam nirvidya bālyena tiṣṭhāset.

Jaina Images in the Khaṇḍagiri Caves

Ananda Chandra Sahoo

The twin-hills of Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri are situated about six km. away to the south-west of Bhubaneswar, the present day capital city of Orissa. Though the actual number of caves excavated here could not be ascertained, at present thirty-three caves (eighteen in Udayagiri and fifteen in Khaṇḍagiri) are found dedicated to the Jaina followers. Most of these caves were excavated under the patronage of the great Cedi King, Khārvela (second half of the Ist. century B.C.) and other royal members including his chief queen, for which there are definite epigraphical evidence.[1] Besides the royal donors, others were also recorded to have donated caves in these hills.[2] Apart from this, from the stylistical point of view some caves in these hills might well be assigned to the first century A.D.

Images belonging to the Jaina pantheon are to be found in the following gumphās[3] (caves) in Khaṇḍagiri[4] : Ananta gumphā, Navamuni gumphā, Bārabhujī gumphā, Triśūla gumphā, cave No. 10 (this cave is unnamed so far) and the Lalāṭendukeśarī gumphā. Ananta gumphā contains a single Tīrthaṅkara image; Navamuni gumphā, ten Tīrthaṅkara images and seven Śāsanadevīs; Bārabhujī gumphā, twenty-five Tīrthaṅkara images and twenty-six Śāsanadevīs; Triśūla gumphā, twenty-four Tīrthaṅkara images; Cave No. 10, two Tīrthaṅkara images and one Sāsanadevi; and the Lalāṭendukeśarī gumphā, eight Tīrthaṅkara images.

The carvings (the images in all the caves named above carved on the inside walls, and inside varandah wall, are either in low, or moderate, or high relief) belonging to the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. barring one example, i.e., the Triśūla gumphā which had been assigned to a period not earlier than the fifteenth century A.D. This is evident by the inscriptions of Udyotakeśarī, a king belonging to the Somavaṃśī-Keśarī dynasty ruling over ancient Utkala from c. 1040 A.D. to 1065 A.D.; engraved in the Navamuni and Lalāṭendukeśarī

gumphās in Khaṇḍagiri. Though Udyotakeśarī was a follower of the Brahmanical faith, he was catholic enough to offer his full support to the cause of the Jaina religion. In his epigraphical records Udyotakeśarī has been credited with being the protector of the Jaina establishments and with the renovation of the decayed tanks and temples in the Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri. He is also credited with the setting up of the images of the twenty four Tīrthaṅkaras. All the above facts have been clearly attested to in the inscription found in the Lalāṭendukeśarī gumphā.[5] Thus it is clear that the caves were reconditioned and converted to sanctuaries during the time of Udyotakeśarī.

Among the various kinds of Jaina sculptures, the images of all the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras, needless to point out, occupy a unique position. On the other hand, amongst the accessory figures of a Jaina Tīrthaṅkara, the Yakṣas and their female counterparts, Yakṣiṇīs, otherwise known as Śāsanadevatās or attendant spirits are most important.[6] These Śāsanadevatās began to accompany their respective Tīrthaṅkaras in the sculptural art from the Gupta period.[7] However, their affiliation with the Tīrthaṅkara images was neither systematised nor found universality. It is only from the eighth century A.D. that all the twenty-four Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs were introduced in the Jaina iconography.[8] Following this tradition, in the Khaṇḍagiri caves we find the representation of the Tīrthaṅkara images with their respective Yakṣiṇīs or Śāsanadevīs.

On the back wall of the Ananta gumphā, below the symbols of 'Śrīvatsa' and 'Svastika', and to the right of a 'nandipāda' on a stepped pedestal, an unfinished Tīrthaṅkara image is relieved. Since the image is unfinished, its identification has not been possible.

In the Navamuni gumphā (originally a two-dwelling cell-cave), on the back wall of what was originally the right cell, seven Tīrthaṅkara images are carved. From left to right the images are Ṛṣabhnātha, the first Tīrthaṅkara; Ajitanātha, the second; Sambhavanātha, the third; Abhinandananātha, the fourth; Vasupūjya the twelfth; Neminātha, the twenty-second and Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third. All these seven Tīrthaṅkaras are carved in high relief in a row within niches which are rounded at the top. All the images are depicted in Yoga-mudrā.[9] Further all the Tīrthaṅkaras wear the 'Jaṭā'. The first, fourth, fifth and seventh representations from the left wear tied 'jaṭās' being folded; the second and third have their 'Jaṭās' arranged in the shape of a cone; while the sixth one wears a spiral curl arranged in a top knot. In all the examples the 'Jaṭās are crowned with trilinear umbrellas which are further flanked by a pair of hands playing musical

instruments. All the Tīrthaṅkara images are flanked on either side by standing fly-whisk-bearers wearing loin-cloths. One of the peculiar features of these images is the absence of the 'śrīvatsa' mark on their chests.

Beneath the row of those Tīrthaṅkara images, are carved in another row and in medium relief, their respective Sāsanadevīs, viz., Cakreśvarī, Ajitabalā, Duritāri, Kālikā, Caṇḍi, Ambikā and Padmāvati. Like the Tīrthaṅkara images the Śāsanadevīs are relieved within niches which are rounded at the top. They are clad in 'sāḍhis,' and short scarfs which cover the chest and left shoulders, and are bedecked with ornaments.

Besides these rows of images, on the right hand wall of the cave are carved two nude figures of Ṛṣabhanātha and Pārśvanātha in moderate relief, but without their Śāsanadevīs. Both flanked by figures of fly-whisk-bearers. The unfinished image of Ṛṣabhanātha has his cognisance, bull below his seat and a round 'Prabhā behind his head. Pārśvanātha is depicted under a seven-hooded snake and wears his 'jaṭā', Flanking the hood are two flying figures holding a garland. Below the lotus- seat there is carves a 'ghaṭa' which is flanked by a 'nāga' figure.

Further, on the left wall there is a comparatively small figure of Candraprabha, the eighth Tīrthaṅkara, shown seated on a lotus with his cognisance śaśī' (moon) below.

In this cave the importance of Pārśvanatha is easily discernible as he is represented twice.

The Bārabhuji gumphā excavated near that of the Navamuni (originally a two-celled cave) contains twenty-four seated Tīrthaṅkara images in all its three sides of the antechamber, and one standing image of Pārśvanātha at the beginning of back wall in the left. All the seated Tīrthaṅkaras are depicted in 'Yogāsana' on double-petalled lotuses supported on lions and crowned by trilinear umbrellas, and halo behind their heads except that of Pārśvanātha. Below the lotus seat are carved the cognisances of the Tīrthaṅkaras, which do not always tally with the traditional prescriptions. Like the previous example here also the 'śrivatsa' mark is not found. All the images are flanked by standing attendants holding fly-whisk. On the top the trilinear umbrella is flanked by flying figures holding garlands in between which are seen musical instruments played by pair of hands.

Below the Tīrthaṅkara images, are carved in a row their respective Śāsanadevīs. Except Nirvāṇī, the Śāsanadevi of Śāntinātha, the sixteenth Tīrthaṅkara; and Naradattā that of Muninātha, the twentieth Tīrthaṅkara, all other Śāsandevīs are shown in 'ardhaparyaṅkāsana.'[10]

Sāsanadevī Nirvāni is shown seated cross-legged, while Naradattā as lying. Twenty of the Ṣāsanadevīs are shown on seats, while the fourth, sixteenth, twenty-second and twenty-third are represented on lotuses below with their animal mounds. All these images wear 'sāḍhīs and are richly ornamented with necklaces, ear ornaments, girdles and bangles. Besides Naradattā and Padmāvati, the latter is the Śāsanadevī of Pārśvanātha, who are crowned by a canopy of snakes, all other Śāsanadevīs have halo behind their heads.

The standing image of Pārsvanātha carved in the beginning of back wall is larger in size than the rest represented in the group. This image is depicted in 'Kāyotsarga' pose on a double-petalled lotus and topped by a trilinear umbrella and further crowned by the seven-hooded canopy of a serpent. On the top flanking the head are flying figures holding garlands, and in between these figures there is the representation of musical instruments played by hands. A three-hooded 'nāga' is shown seated with folding hands, while the fly-whisk- bearers are depicted standing one above the other. This standing Pārśvanatha is without its Śāsanadevī.

Besides all these representations in this cave, two twelve-armed figures of Śāsanadevīs, viz., Cakreśvarī, the Śāsanadevī of Ṛṣabhanātha, and Ajitabalā, the Śāsanadevī of Ajitanātha are carved on the left and right hand wall of the verandah of the cave. Above the head of Cakreśvarī, who is shown seated on a double-petalled lotus, is carved her *jīna*, Ṛṣabhanātha with his cognisance, bull. Ajitabālā is shown seated on a double-petalled-lotus with her bull below under her *jīna* who is represented with his cognisance 'gaja' (elephant).

Three relief figures: two of Ṛṣabhanātha and one of Āmrā, the Śāsanadevī of Neminātha are carved on the back wall of cave No. 10. Both the images of Ṛṣabhnātha are depicted in two separate niches close to each other in 'kāyotsarga' pose on a double-petalled-lotus, below which there is the depiction of bull. In each example the pedestal is supported by a pair of lions, and the image is flanked by cauri-bearers on the pedestal. The images are further flanked by eight 'grahas', four on either side. On the top near the head, are two fly- whisk-bearers. Both the images wear 'jaṭā-mukuta', and the one to the left is topped by a trilinear umbrella, while in the other example the central trilinear umbrella is further flanked by two trilinear umbreallas.

Adjacent to this images and to the right side, as the visitors look, is carved the figure of Āmrā in a separate niche. This partly mutilated figure stands on a 'tribhaṅga' pose under a mango tree, on the top of which is carved her Jina, Neminātha in a seated pose.

Near cave No. 10. is excavated the Lalāṭendukeśarī gumphā (at present completely damaged leaving the traces of the back and left walls). On the back and left walls of the left cell (originally it consisted of two cells with a benched verandah in front) are carved two images of Ṛṣabhanātha and three of Pārśvanātha respectively; while on the right cell there are two images of Pārsvanātha and one of Ṛṣabhanātha. All the images are depicted in *kāyotsarga* pose.

Adjacent to the Bārabhūji gumphā is the Triśūla gumphā which contains in its three sides of the antechamber the images of twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras.[11] The carvings in this particular cave, unlike that of other caves discussed above, are crude and hence assigned to a period not earlier than the fifteenth century A.D.[12]

Amongst all the Tīrthaṅkaras, eight, viz., Ṛṣabhanātha, Ajitanātha, Śītalanātha, Śreyāṃśanātha, Vasupujya, Vimalanātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra, respectively the first, second, tenth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, twenty-third and twenty-fourth are depicted in *kāyotsarga* posture. The height of these standing images is larger than their seated counterparts, and the image of Ṛṣabhanātha is the largest in the whole group.

Besides these standing images, all other images are depicted seated in *yoga mudrā* on lotuses resting on a pedestal which is further supported by lions. All these images are flanked with fly-whisk-bearers.

In this cave two interesting peculiarities may be noted. Firstly, Pārsvanātha, instead of being shown before Mahāvira, which was the usual practice, is depicted in the centre of the group under a seven-hooded canopy. Secondly, the base of the Tīrthaṅkara, Dharmanātha, is blocked by a masonry structure, on which are placed three chlorite images of Ṛṣabhanātha which do not belong to this cave. All these three images are shown standing on a double-petalled lotus in *kāyotsarga* posture. Below the lotus seats there are the depiction of bulls, the cognisance of the Tīrthaṅkara. Further, the images are flanked by standing fly-whisk-bearers. On the top, there are flying figures holding garlands, and in between them the musical instruments played by hands. Besides, the back slab of the figures except that of the smallest one is relieved by the figures of eight planets, four on each side. The *śrīvatsa* mark is absent in all these figures.

To sum up, the representations in the Khaṇḍagiri caves present some striking features. The sculptors depicted the Tīrthaṅkara images in a fairly systematic way, though in some places they have given precedence to Pārśvanātha. Truly following the tradition, they have also relieved the respective Śasandevīs of Tīrthaṅkaras. Though at some

places the norm has been violated, perhaps due to the sculptor's liberty, the depiction is definitely unique.

NOTES

1. In lines fourteen and fifteen of the Hāthīgumphā inscription, Khāravela is recorded to have donated caves to the Jaina monks on the Udayagiri hill : cf., *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIV, pp. 468-469; *Epigraphica Indica (EI)*;. Vol. XX, p. 89; B.M. Barua, *Old Brahmi Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves*, pp. 25-26; D.C. Sircar, *Select Insçriptions bearing on India History and Civilization*, pp. 217-218.
For the evidence regarding Khāravela's chief queens donation of caves see, D.C. Sircar, *op,cit.*, pp. 221-222. For other royal donors see, *Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Report* (1902-1903), p. 41; *E.I.*, Vol. XIII, p. 106.
2. *EI.*, Vol; XIII, part-II, Nos. 7 & 8; B.M. Barua, *op.cit.*, pp. 81- 82, 99-100, 105-106; R.L. Mitra, *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol.II p. 30
3. In this region a cave is locally known as gumphā.
4. In the Udayagiri only the Gaṇeśa gumphā contains a single Tīrthaṅkara image.
5. Om Śrī Udyotakeśarī vijayarājya saṃvat 5/
Śrī Kumāraparvatastāne jinna vapijirnnaisana
Udyotita tasmin thāne caturviṃśati tithakara
stāpita pratiṣṭhā (ka) le has (ri) opa jasanandika-
nndatidratha Śrīparaśyanāthasya karmmakhayaḥ//
S.N. Rajaguru, *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. IV, pp. 236-237. Also cf., *EI.*, Vol.XIII p. 167/
6. It is believed that Indra had appointed one Yakṣa and one Yakṣini to serve on each Tīrthaṅkara as attendants on the right and left sides of the image cf., R.S. Gupta, *Iconography of the Hindus, Buddhists and Jainas*, p. 176.
7. A sole example of Ambikā, the Yakṣiṇī of Neminatha, the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara has been assigned to the Kuṣāṇa period. R.S. Gupta, *op.cit.*, p. 175.
8. U.P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, p. 19.
9. A sitting posture in which the legs are shown crossed and the palms in the form of lotus-buds laid upon one another beside the belly.
10. In this posture one leg hangs angularly while the other is folded.
11. For details see M.M. Ganguly, *Orissa and Her Remains*, pp. 50-55.
12. D. Mitra, *Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri*, p. 65.

On the Implications of the "Nāgnya-Parīṣaha" in the Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra

M. A. Dhaky

In the *sūtra* 9.8 of the *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra*[1] Vācaka Umāsvāti (c. latter half of the 4th cent. A.D.[2]) makes mention of the *parīṣahas* which, when confronted by a Nirgrantha ascetic, are to be endured for the sake of non-swerving from the path (*mārgācyavana*) and for achieving *nirjarā*.[3] The *mārga* or path has been defined as right belief, right knowledge, and right conduct and *nirjarā* as *karma-nirjarā* (dissolution of deed-latencies) in the *Bhāṣya*.[4] In the *sūtra* 9.9 of the text are enumerated the 22 kinds of *parīṣahas*, or visiting afflictions or sufferings, in which the fifth to figure is *nāgnya* or nudity. The specific inclusion of *nāgnya* among the *parīṣahas*, according to Bronkhorst,[5] is a pivotal point (besides several other notable, subsidiary but useful, details and facts) in determining the creed-affiliation of the *Sūtra*: the author, in Bronkhorst's perception, was Yāpanīya[6] and not Śvetāmbara (or Digambara either due to other facts embodied in the Text). He moreover, maintains that the composer of the *Sūtra* and the author of the *Bhāṣya* (which is incontrovertibly the earliest up-to-date known commentary on the *Sūtra*) were different persons.[7] These conclusions, however, stand opposed to the anciently held tradition of the Śvetāmbara Church.[8] The contemporary Śvetāmbara learned writers as well as some Western Nirgranthologists[9] who had either dealt with, or at least had alluded to the historical aspects, regarded Umāsvāti as the composer of the *Sūtra* as well as the *Bhāṣya*. Bronkhorst (and with a few exceptions, several Digambara scholars) look upon the *Sūtra* as a work earlier than the *Bhāṣya*, the latter work alone may be attributed to Umāsvāti.[10]

But Bronkhorst is not alone, nor is he the first scholar in taking the author of the *Sūtra* as Yāpanīya. It was Premi who first advocated the Yāpanīya-ness of the *Sūtra*; he also asserted that the *Bhāṣya*, too, is

Yāpanīya.[11] But, unlike Bronkhorst, he believed that the *Sūtra* is Umāsvāti's and the *Bhāṣya* is its auto-commentary.[12] Of late, Patoriya, too, regards *Sūtrakāra* as Yāpanīya though she is willing to accord Umāsvāti the authorship of the *Bhāṣya* which is Śvetāmbara in her estimation.[13]

The problems connected with the *Sūtra* and the *Bhāṣya vis-a-vis* Umāsvāti and associated matters I am dealing with at some length in two separate papers elsewhere and here, therefore, shall restrict discussion to the import of the term *nāgnya-parīṣaha* as inferred from the context of the text's own statements as well as inherent intentions and next will examine its admissibility or otherwise as an evidence in determining the sectarial[14] affiliation of the author of the *Sūtra* as Yāpanīya. My perception of the term's meaning sharply differs from its understanding given in Bronkhorst's as well as Patoriya's thesis.

The term *parīṣaha* implicitly stands for a "visiting privation" or "visiting suffering" and thus is not the consequence of the self-inflicted or self-imposed affliction; it is therefore not generated by an ascetic's own volition and hence not identical with what is a regular (and hence normal) feature of the willingly embraced monastic discipline which is, in case of the Northern Nirgrantha or Kṣapaṇaka-*acelaka* and for the Southern Nirgrantha or Yāpanīya as well as Digambara friars, *nāgnya*. For them nudity will be an ever-present aspect of their life as an ascetic. The disciplinary nudity, thus being obligatory, cannot be classed as *parīṣaha* (though, of course, by its own nature it may attract different categories of sufferings). For instance, hunger due to fasting under a deliberate vow cannot be termed *kṣudhā-parīṣaha*; but when a friar, due to the presence of some special circumstances—incessant rains, hostile social conditions not permitting the regular food-begging tour etc.— is unable to get his routine food-alms and has to suffer from hunger, the eventuality can doubtlessly be classed as *kṣudhā-parīṣaha*.[15] Viewed in this light, the *nāgnya-parīṣaha* can visit, and its operation can become meaningful as a *parīṣaha* only if the friar is clothed, ---- be he having a fuller unsewn robe or barely a rag covering his private parts. If, for instance, he is under the compulsion of circumstances disrobed or deprived of the meagre cloth-piece (exposing his genitalia) he can be said to have encountered the *nāgnya-parīṣaha*.

A second textual injunction supporting this position is in the *Bhāṣya* as well as in the subsequent *sūtras* of the text. In the *Bhāṣya* of the *Sūtra* 9.9, it is stated that five (out of the standard set of eight) *karmas*, when they are ascendent, generate *parīṣaha* for the ascetic:

these are the *jñānāvaraṇa* (cognition-obscuring), *vedaṇiya* (sensorial), *darśana-mohanīya* (faith-deluding), *cāritra-mohanīya* (conduct-deluding), and *antarāya* (obstructional).[16] The *sūtra* 9.15, which has a direct bearing on the issue, and which is present in the Northern as well as the Southern version of the *Sūtra*-text, avers that the arousal (fruition) of the *cāritra-mohanīya-karma* (conduct-deluding *karma*) leads to *nāgnya-parīṣaha*.[17] It is thus very clear that *nāgnya* as *parīṣaha* is not the same as *nāgnya* as a part of the *samācāri*, monastic discipline.

II

Once we disabuse our mind from the erroneous understanding of the *sūtra*'s intent of the term, the way is clear for searching the āgamic authority which underlay the conceptual principle of *parīṣaha*-determination. With the exception of the *Nandi-sūtra* of Deva Vācaka (c. mid 5th century A.D.) and the *Anuyogadvāra-sūtra* (c. latter half of the 5th century A.D.)[18], the remaining *āgamas* available with Śvetāmbara Church of the Northern Nirgrantha tradition already existed when the *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra* was composed. The author, if he were Umāsvāti, surely had the canonical *āgamas* before him from whose doctrinal and dogmatic tradition he formulated his *sūtras*, even if his *āgamic* texts may have represented a version followed by the friars of the Uccairnāgarī-śākhā and not of the Vajrī-śākhā whose *anuyoga* the Śvetāmbara Church follows since the sect's recognizable appearance on the scene in the fifth century A.D.[19] (There apparently were some differences of details between the two versions, of course nothing of significance that would affect the basic doctrinal positions and dogmatic patterns.[20]) We of course do not have the canonical version the *Sūtrakāra* had used: however, the existing canon available with the Śvetāmbara Church is still serviceable in providing closely comparable and hence admissible data and information needed for investigation.

We may begin our search with the notices in the *āgamas* which relate to the subject of *parīṣahas*. The chapter 2 of the *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra* is devoted to the topic of *parīṣaha* where all the 22 *parīṣahas* are (identically) enumerated, and here, too, *ācelakya* (*nāgnya*) finds the fifth place.[21] The old *Saṅgrahaṇī-gāthās* on the *parīṣaha* topic incorporated there (which are in the archaic style of c. 2nd century B.C.) (here re-rendered in Ardhamāgadhi) thus explains the purport of the *acela parīṣaha*.

Parijunnehi vatthehi hokkhāmi tti acelaē
aduvā sacelaē hokham iï bhikhu na cintaē //
—*Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, 2.14.*

"A friar must not (apprehensively) think that on having (his) piece of cloth worn out he will turn *acela* (undraped) or on having it he will turn *sacela* (clothed)."

About two hundred years hence, in the time of the illustrious pontiff Ārya Rakṣita, a clearer and graphic illustration of how the *nāgnya-parīṣaha* was implied or understood to be eventualized. A significant allusion is in the *Maraṇasamādhi-prakīrṇaka*. The available text of the work represents a compilation of eight earlier works (on the preparatory enjoinings for the final journey of the ascetic), probably effected in pre-medieval times. Of the works compiled, five at least belonged to pre-fifth century A.D. period (since their names are referred to in the *Nandi-sūtra*) and these may have been formulated latest in the Kuṣāṇa period. The *Maraṇasamādhi* also mentions the 22 *parīṣahas* and for the *ācelakya-parīṣaha* quotes the example of the father of Ārya Rakṣita[22]:

Khamāsamaṇa Rakhita-pito acelayatte ya Ujjeṇī //
—*Maraṇasamādhi-prakīrṇaka*, 490"

From the style and content of the verse, it appears to date from the 3rd or 4th century A.D. It refers to the *acela-parīṣaha* which the father of Rakṣita kṣamāśramaṇa (Ārya Rakṣita) met with at Ujjayani or Ujjain. The anecdote has been alluded to in the *Āvaśyaka-curṇī* (A.D. 600-650) on whose basis Haribhadra Suri, in his *Āvaśyaka-vṛtti* (c. A.D. 750), elucidates the episode in full[23]. Some more details are provided by later works such as the *Pariśiṣṭa-parva* (c. A.D. 1160-1166) of Hemacandra and the *Prabhāvaka-carita* (A.D. 1277) of Prabhācandrācārya, both of which had used earlier sources.[24] According to these sources, Ārya Rakṣita's family had hailed from Daśapura (Mandsor) and excepting the father,—brahmin Somadeva,—all the members of the family had embraced the order of friars/nuns. Since left alone, the father too decided to get ordained (by Ārya Rakṣita) but on the condition that he will retain certain objects and cognizances and also a *kaṭi-paṭṭaka* or waist-cloth (since it would be unthinkable to stand nude before his own members of the family). He was permitted but gradually was persuaded to give them up one by one. Once, on an occasion of carrying the body of a dead friar, Somadeva was tricked

into joining; and as the funeral procession started, the younger friars (in accordance with pre-conceived conspiracy) prevailed upon Somadeva to remove the *kaṭi-paṭṭaka*. The shame as well as indignation he thus may have felt is cited as an illustration of the *ācelakya-parīṣaha*.[25] In the āgamic tradition, thus, *ācelakya* i.e. *nāgnya-parīṣaha* implied just the opposite of what the proponents of the Yāpanīya affiliation for the *Sūtrakāra* suggest and seek. A nude monk may sometimes suffer from other privations such as beating, stone-receiving, ridicule, and the like from the rowdies or *paratīrthikas*, fundamentalist followers of other religions. But that is no *nāgnya-parīṣaha*, only occasional side-inconveniences or sufferings of the *upsarga*-class to an avowed nude friar. The allusion to *nāgnya-parīṣaha* in the *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra* rather goes against qualifying the author as Yāpanīya, or for that matter Digambara.[26] It rather leads to just the opposite conclusion: the *sūtrakāra* belonged to the Northern Nirgrantha main sect which allowed the use of *alpa-parīgraha* or meagre possession including a *cola-paṭṭaka* or *kaṭi-paṭṭaka* if it could not be helped.[27]

NOTES

1. The Southern version of the *Sūtra*-text is called the *Tattvārtha-sūtra*. There, too the serial order of the *sūtra* under reference is 9.9.
2. The *Sūtra*-text apparently had been composed after the several dogma-dealing and scholastic *āgamas* like the late chapters of the *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra*, the *Vyākhyā-prajñpti*, the *Jivābhigama*, and the *Prajñapanā-sūtra* besides those that dealt with the geography and the cosmography such as the *Lokānuyoga* of Ārya Śyāma I, the *Jambūdvīpa-prajñpti* and the *Dvīpasāgara-prajñpti*. Excepting the *Lokānuyoga* (c. 1st cent. B.C.-A.D.), the rest of the *āgamas* (or parts thereof) arguably had been composed during the Śaka-Kuṣāṇa periods, and thus between the 2nd and 4th century A.D. The *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra* could have come into existence after full acquaintanc with the content of these *āgamas*. Also the influence of the *Pātañjala-yogasūtra* and its *Bhāṣya* by Vyāsa, visibly present bith the Sūtra-text as well as the *Bhāṣya*, would place Umāsvāti after Vyāsa. Vyāsa, however, was known to Siddhasena Divakāra (c. A.D. 380-444; cf. his *Sāṃkya dvātriṃśika*); and so also was Umāsvāti (cf. his Dvātriṃśika 19): thus the date of Vyāsa must by before the times of these two Nirgrantha authors and hence not later than the first half of the 4th century A.D. Umāsvāti then can be reasonably placed between A.D. 350-400.
3. *Mārg=ācyavana-nirjar=ārthaṃ paripoḍhavyāḥ parīṣahaḥ* / (Ed. Hīrālāl Rasikdās Kāpaḍia, *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra*, SDLJPFS

No.76,pt. 2, Surat 1930, p. 223.)

4. *Samyag-darśan-āde-mokṣamārgād-cyavan-ārthaṁ karma-nirjar=arthaṁ ca pariṣoḍhavyāḥ parīṣaha iti* / (*Ibid.*)
5. Johnnes Bronkhorst, "On the Chronology of the Tattvārtha-*sūtra* and some Early commentaries," *Wiener Zeitschrift Fur Die Kunde Südesiens und Archiv Für Indiche Philosophie*, Band XXIX, Viena 1985.
6. Ibid., discussions, pp. 177-178.
7. Ibid., discussions,pp. 163-171.
8. Haribhadra in his incomplete commentary (c. A.D. 775 or 785) on the *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra*, also Siddhasena gaṇi in his commentary (c. A.D. 760-770) on the selfsame *Sūtra*; and before both of them Agastyasimha in his Cūrṇī (c. A.D. 575-600) on the *Daśvaikālika-sūtra* had taken the *Sūtra* as well as the *Bhāṣya* as Umāsvāti's work.
9. Walther Schubring and before him Hermann Yacobi. I forego citations since the fact is too well-known.
10. Pt. Jugalkishor Mukhtar and Pt. Kailash Chandra Jain whose writings matter since they have discussed the works involved at some length in their writings. Again I forego citations since I am reviewing their positions in separate papers.
11. Nathooram Premi, " Umāsvātika Sabhasya Tattvartha," (Hindi), *Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa*, Bombay 1956, pp. 521-547.
12. Ibid.
13. Kusum Patoriya, *Yāpanīya aur unkā Sāhitya*, Hindi, Varanasi 1988, pp. 83, 87-102 (for discussion on the *Sūtra*-text) and pp. 103-104 (for discussion on the *Bhāṣya*.) She regards *Bhāṣya* posterior to the *Sarvārthasiddhi* of Devanandi.
14. This term has been coined by me for distinguishing the intended implication of the term "sectarian" which is now mainly used in derogatory sense.
15. Similar situations can be demonstrated for most other *parīṣahas*.
16. *Pañcā-nām=eva karma-prakṛtīnām-uday-ād ete parīṣahah prādurbhavanti / Tadad=yathā-jñanāvaraṇa-vedanīya-darśana-cāritra-mohanīy=ā antarāyaṇām=iti //* (Kāpaḍīā, p.229)
17. *Cāritra-mohe nāgnya=rati-strī-niṣdyā=krośa-yācanā-satkāra-puraskārah* // 9.15 // (Kāpaḍīā, p. 231)
Bhāṣya: Caritra-mohodaye ete nāgny=ādayaḥ sapta parīṣaha bhavanti // 9.15 // (Kapadia, Ibid)
18. *Anuyogadvāra-sūtra* has been wrongly looked upon as the work by Ārya Rakṣita. While it may have used some works composed between the 2nd and the 4th century A.D., it introduces a new element, the *mikṣepa*-methodology hitherto unknown in āgamic formulations and expositions.
19. The Śvetāmbara sect originated from the lower Western India *caityavāsī* abbots during c. fifth century A.D. from the Vajrī-śākhā,

their sphere of influence, just as land of origin, apparently was Lāṭa (Southern Gujarat) and Western Saurāṣṭra with Valabhī as its main centre.

20. As observed (and critised) by Siddhasena *gaṇi*, not only the *Sūtras* but also the *Bhāṣya* (considered even by the proponents of the Yāpanīya affiliation of the *Sūtra* as of a Śvētāmbara writer) differs in several particulars from the available canon. This anomaly can be explained only by assuming that the Ucchirnāgara-śākhā had had its own canonical version differing on some points from the Śvētāmbara. Even in the canon fixed under the chairmanship of Ārya Skandila at Mathura (c. A.D. 353) and contemporaneously under Ārya Nāgārjuna at the Valabhi Synod I, both the pontiffs though belonged to the Vajrī-śākhā, there were differences in readings and details some of which had persisted even after the collation of the two versions at the Valabhī Synod II under Devarddhi gaṇi in A.D. 503 or 516.
21. Eds. Late Muni Shri Punyavijayaji and Pt. Amritlal Mohanlal Bhojak, Jain-Āgama Series No. 15, Bombay 1977, p. 94.
22. Eds. Punyavijaya Muni and Pt. Amritlal Bhojak, *Paiṇṇayasuttāṁ*, Part I, Jaina-Āgama-Series No.17, "Maranavibhakti Prakīrṇaka", Bombay 1984, p.144.
23. "Arya Rakṣita katha," *Āvaśyaka-vṛtti*, pt. 1, reprint, Bombay 1982, pp. 203-204.
24. These two sources being derivative, I do not quote from them, or their other particulars here.
25. This seems the most sensible deduction.
26. There has been for many years a strong claim for the Digambara side also, though the case so far made to the effect is not so strong.
27. I am aware that the Śvētāmbara commentator Siddhasena gaṇi has unnecessarily indulged in the discussion of Jinakalpa etc. since he had failed to grasp the import of the term *nāgnya-parīṣaha*.

The Jain Community and Akbar

Surendra Gopal

This brief paper tries to delineate the impact of Akbar's policies on the Jain Community.

As is well known, the Jains were mostly concentrated in Rajasthan and Gujarat though their pockets existed almost throughout north India besides some places in western India and south India.

A work of the fifteenth century shows that the members of Jain community were also to be found in Malwa, in Sindh, Haryana and the Punjab.[1] We also learn that between Samvat 1475 and Samvat 1515 Jinabhadra Suri a saint of Tapagachcha branch of Svetambara sect took up the arduous task of transferring Jain works written on palm-leaves to paper and established *grantha bhandar* or depositing centre of books in Jaisalmer, Jawalpur, Deogiri (Daultabad in Maharashtra), Ahipur and Patan.[2] There is also a mention of such depositories in Mandapdurg or Mandu in Malwa and Cambay in Gujarat.[3]

In Gujarat and Rajasthan, the Jains were basically traders though in Rajasthan some of them also occupied important official positions such as the family of Bhagrmal Kawariya of Mewar whose members from the time of Rana Sanga onwards served Mewar as ministers and included such illustrious ministers as Tarachand, Bhema Shah, Jiwa Shah, etc.[4] Similarly, the Muhnot family was associated with the house of Jodhpur and provided several ministers in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, the most famous of them being Muhnot Nainasi, the writer of *Muhnot Nainasi ra Khyat*.[5]

Their close connection with the ruling chiefs in Rajasthan and Gujarat facilitated the quick and smooth integration of the Jains in the Mughal administrative system after these chiefs decided to cooperate with the Mughals in the time of Akbar. Their trust in the new polity is evident from their diffusion all over the Mughal empire under Akbar and his successors.

Akbar's policy helped to create conditions in which Jain traders began to migrate to the different parts of north India from Rajasthan and Gujarat. This became possible because of the combination of a

number of factors.

First, by conquering the whole of north of India Akbar established a uniform system of government, a single fiscal and customs policy and basically one type of currency. Roads linking important trade and producing centres of Gujarat and Rajasthan such as Surat, Ahmedabad, Ajmer, Bayana etc. to Agra were built. Roads now connected Agra with Labore and halting places along the roads were provided. At the same time comparative security of persons and property was established which made long distance travel and transport of goods more safe and convenient. Akbar's policy of conquest had helped to forge one political unit out of northern and western India which created suitable conditions for conducting economic activities over a much wider region.

While these measures had created the much needed environment, the real breakthrough came after Akbar implemented his Rajput policy and instead of subjugating the Rajput chiefs and incorporating their kingdoms converted them into the allies and vassals of the Mughal empire, sometimes even by entering into matrimonial relations.

Many Rajput chieftains along with their family members were made administrative functionaries and military commanders by Akbar and sent to different parts of the empire, to administer, to keep peace or to win new territories.[6]

Many of these top Rajput commanders and administrators carried with them their advisers from their homeland to assist them in the task of administration. Among these some were Jains. Man Singh, while he was posted as the Governor of Bengal with its headquarters at Rajmahal in Bihar, had with him Mahamatya Nanu Godha a Jain who served him for a long time and then returned carrying immense riches.

Nanu Godha is reputed to be the most celebrated Jain personality among the Khandelwals in the seventeenth century. He is reputed to have constructed eighty temples in Bengal (by Bengal is meant both the present day Bihar and Bengal.) He owned seventy-two elephants and his wealth was unparalleled.[7]

The services of these Jains were also needed for arranging supplies to the armies led by the Rajput commanders in different parts of empire during the reign of Akbar. Personal knowledge of the different parts of the empire thus obtaind helped the Jains to make up thir minds about moving out of Rajasthan to earn a livlihood. Therefore, Akbar's Rajput policy not only led to the migration of Rajputs but also of the Jains to the different parts of the Mugal empire.

As is well known, Akbar by laying down that the land revenue

should be paid in cash rather than in kind gave a boost to commercialisation of agriculture as peasants become interested in producing cash crops which commanded a ready sale and fetched higher prices, at least on a part of their landholdings. This measure intensified rural-urban trade monetization of economy[8] and was an important factor in promoting inland trade during this period.

The Jain community which was dispersed over this region took advantage of this opportunity for they had the necssary expertise and probably more important than this, though located in diffrent places they remaind in contact with each other through ties of family, friendship, occupation and religion. The members of the community could therefore, operate all over the region with greater confidence and better knowledge of the prevailing economic and political environment.

The family ties of Jains covered a number of places as is evident from the fact that Banarsidas's grandfather Muldas was atttached to the ruler of Narwar near Gwalior while his maternal grandfather Madan Singh Chinaliya was a famous jeweller of Jaunpur. His father Kharagsen had served in Bengal, Allahabad and Jaunpur. Banarsidas settled down in Agra.[9]

Another example of the existence of family ties among Jains residing in distant cities is furnished by Hemraj Patani, a resident of Patna who was married to a niece of Seth Hiranand Mukim of Agra.[10] In Bengal Diwan Dhanna Rai had under him five hundred Shrimal Vaishyas who were employed in the task of revenue collection.[11]

It is against this background that we must view the visit of Jain saints to the court of Akbar. It was a reflection of growing interest of their lay followers in the continuously widening area of economic activities, made possible by the emergence of the new political entity. Akbar, of course, invited them to visit him following his desire to bring about a rapproachement among the major religious communities of the country. But the growing involvement of their coreligionists in the Mughal polity and economy must have been an important motivation for them in seeking and maintaining good relations with the Mughal emperor. Thus from Padmasundar who appears to have been the first Jain monk to meet Akbar we have a continuous flow of distinguished Jain saints to the court of Akbar and his successor Jahangir.[12] Of course, the most famous Jain visitor to Akbar was Hiravijaya Suri who met him in Samvat 1639.[13]

Akbar was so much impressed by Hiravijaya Suri that he conferred upon him the title of 'Jagad Guru' or 'the preceptor of the world.'[14] The interaction won over the confidence of the community.

When Hiravijaya Suri quitted the court in 1587, he left behind his brilliant disciple Santichandra, the author of "Kriparasa-kosa.'[15] When he left the royal court in 1587 he asked Bhanuchandra and his disciple Siddhichandra to stay back. They lived even after the death of Akbar at the court and Siddhichandra who had also learnt Persian, wrote "Bhanuchandra Gani Charit" a biography of his master.

The faith of the community in Akbar and the Mughal polity was strengthened when the ruler issued firmans prohibiting the killing of animals on certain days sacred to the Jains.[16] Similarly, they were permitted to renovate their temples and allowed to go on pilgrimage in large groups.[17] The time span of eleven lunar years separating the two firmans of Akbar and also the continued stay of Jain teachers at the Mughal Court point to the continuing patronage of the Jains by the Mughal emperor.

We find a rich Jain trader of Agra Seth Hiranand Mukim, who later on became the personal jeweller of Emperor Jahangir leading a party of Jain pilgrims to Sammed Shikhar in Bihar. While it was not unusual for Jains to go on pilgrimage to holy places in Rajasthan and Gujarat, it was certainly something new that a big party of Jains could go from Agra to Sammed Shikhar and the state extended full protection to the party.[18]

The practice of large parties of pilgrims visiting eastern India helped in integrating Jains residing in different parts of Gujarat, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, etc. This change should not be overlooked as earlier the Jains generally travelled to their holy places mostly located in Gujarat and Rajasthan. Eventually, this environment promoted inter-regional ties and trade.

Akbar's policy of religious toleration resulted in increased mobility of Jain saints and their entourage, which further reinforced the bonds among the members of the community. They could profess and practice their religion publicly. The new-found mobility enabled them to forge linkages at all levels of administration which furthered the commercial activities of their co-religionists as officials were now afraid to harass them.

Akbar's policies affected the Jain community in several other ways.

The good relations that developed between the Jain religious leaders and the Mughal rulers now extended to the members of the community at large. A number of them held positions in the Mughal administration and could influence the state policies and help their co-religionists whenever they felt harassed by the activities of the local

Mughal officials. Also, they were now emboldened to settle down in groups in places where they could profitably follow their traditional vocation of trade.

Furthermore, the royal patronage helped the community to forget temporarily their dissensions[19] and cooperate with each other in secular and temporal matters. Thus in March 1596, Jains from Punjab, Bengal, Rajputana and Gujarat forgetting their differences assembled on the Satrunjay hills to pay homage to their deities.[20] This was probably an unforeseen and unanticipated consequence of the harmony developing between the Mughal ruler and the Jain community.

In the time of Akbar Agra emerged as an entrepot and was probably the greatest trade mart inside the country.[21] We have substantial number of Jains residing in Agra in time of Akbar. Many of them were fairly rich. They occupied official positions as well as carried on trade.

Karma Chand was a minister of Akbar, enjoying his trust.[22] His biographer claims that for some time he prohibited fishing in Jhelum, Satlaj, Ravi and Indus rivers.[23] He cites instances when Akbar conferred lavish rewards on Karma Chand.[24]

Than Singh was another favourite and confidante of Akbar.[25] At the instance of the emperor, a centre for collecting books relating to Jainism was started in Agra and Than Singh was asked to look after it.[26] It was said that in the reign of Akbar's successor Jahangir eighty-eight important Jains belonging to the Svetambara sect resided in Agra and all of them were fairly well off.[27]

In Bihar in the early seventeenth century, we have reference to twelve families of Jain traders whose leader was Sanghvi Sangram Singh.[28] Subsequently the number went in increasing during the reign of Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb.

We have also the example of Than Singh, Manu Kalyan and Amipal, who were deputed by the emperor to look after Acharya Hiravijay in Agra.[29] They lavishly spent money on his public reception.[30]

All travel accounts of Jain saints in the reign of Akbar describe grand processions being organised in towns by Jains through which they passed, especially in Gujarat, Malwa and Rajasthan where they were present in large numbers.[31] In many towns of Western Uttar Pradesh, Haryana and Panjab, they again received warm reception from their followers. The opportunity to display publicly their faith and opulence must have exerted a powerful psychological impact on them to continue to earn and accumulate wealth.

The assemblage of affluent Jains in substantial number in Agra gave an impetus to cultural and religious activities. In 1594 Parimal wrote "Sripalcharitra" which gives a vivid description of Agra and its society.[32]

Banarsidas, the writer of first autobiography in Hindi, grew up in Agra and he was a member of a group which discussed a variety of religious subjects, some of which were disliked by orthodoxy.[33] Banarsidas, as is well known also came in contact with the famous Hindi poet Goswami Tulsidas and Sundardas.[34]

It should be noted that some other economic policies of Akbar also helped the Jains to reap economic profit.

The requirement of payment of land revenue in cash invariably meant the growth of moneylending and increased importance of moneylender not only in rural sector but also in the urban sector. The Jains were well-fitted to assume this role.

They had the capital, they knew the market conditions and also they had local knowledge about the social and financial status of men they had to deal with. Hence, they combined moneylending along with their activities. We know in the seventeenth century Virji Vohra, a Digambar Jain of Surat, the greatest trader in India was also a well known moneylender who advanced loans to the various European trading companies. The new business brought them increased wealth.

As internal trade developed, money-changing and transmission of money through *hundis* became its important components.

Akbar had given a fillip to monetization by organizing mints in all the provincial capitals. The Jain traders again had no difficulty in taking up this new profession on a wide scale since they had the capital as well as expertise.

Similarly, with respect to the transmission of money through *hundi*, the Jain traders were best fitted for the job as their links extended not only all over north India but also to west India both becuase of their trading activities and also because of community affiliation. Thus the Jain traders diversified their activity into moneylending, moneychanging and transmission of money. As the seventeenth century proceeded and the European trading companies became active in the internal markets of north India and gave a further fillip to inland trade, the Jains were fully prepared to profit from it.

The intensified trade activities of Jains is evident from their presence in small and big towns in north India.

In Multan (in the Punjab) we know of a group of Jain traders who followed the teaching of Banarsidas. It is said that the leading member

Vardhaman Nawlakha went to Agra to meet Banarsidas.[35]

Shah Haranand was a leading Jain trader, who resided in Lahore.[36] Nahar Jatmal of Lahore subsequently wrote a poem "Lahore Gazal" in which he extensively described the city.[37]

The Jain saint Jinsingh Suri went to Lahore and stayed there at the instance of Karma Chandra.[38] His lay followers such as Parbat, Man Singh, etc. besides organising meetings for his sermons gave him very warm and grand reception.[39]

In Delhi, many Jains resided. In the time of Shah Jahan they constructed the famous Red Jain temple in the vicinity of Chandani Chowk which still exists.[40]

Mathura was another centre which attracted their presence. East of Agra, they could be found in Prayag, Jaunpur, Varanasi, Patna, etc. Hence, in the time of Akbar they were engaged in long distance trade and were rich. Some of them were fairly affluent while some of them were just able to make both ends meet. While they were trading in bulk items such as textiles and dyes and food stuffs, they were also engaged in high valued trade of diamonds, gold and silver, etc.[41]

Finally, one should also take into account the fact that many of the Jain saints though generally moving in Agra, Delhi, Rajasthan and Gujarat region, still preferred to write in Hindi besides writing in Sanskrit, Prakrit,[42] Gujarati [43] and Rajasthani. Thus in the later half of the sixteenth century, Ratnakirti (Samvat 1600 to 1656) wrote a number of poems in Hindi.[44] He is reputed to have been the first Digambar Jain poet of Hindi. Of course, Banarsidas has carved for himself a name in the annals of Hindi poetry. Many of these writers in Hindi belonged to the Punjab as well.[45]

One should not forget to mention that the Jains are also among the early writers of Hindi prose. As traders and administrators it was almost a compulsion for them to acquire proficiency in writing of prose. In the mid-sixteenth century Pandey Rajmal wrote a commentary on Kundkundacārya's *Samayasāra* in Hindi prose.[46] Banarsidas also wrote Hindi prose.[47] This points to a growing realization among the Jain saints and literateurs that many of their co-religionists has settled down in the Ganga-Yamuna Doab region and had picked up the local language, therefore, it was necessary to speak and write in the language with which they were conversant, so that they could imbibe the message they intended to convey.

To students of history, another aspect of Jain literary works during the age of Akbar becomes important. Some of the writings dealt with the life and times of Akbar. Siddhichandra writes of Akbar, "There

is not a single art, not a single branch of knowledge, not a single act of boldness and strength which was not attempted by the young Emperor."[48] One may not accept it but this is one dimension of how the contemporaries perceived their ruler. Similarly, while speaking of Abul Fazl, he says, "He had gone through the ocean of the whole literature and he was the best among all learned men". One can again question this. But certainly one gets a contemporary view of one of the important chroniclers of Akbar's age.[49]

Some biographical writings on Jain saints though highly eulogistic, throw light on the life-style of Jains, the status of women, the use of wealth, etc. and the religious schisms that affected the Jain society. We, therefore, have a glimpse into the history of a group, which though played an important role in the economy, but was largely ignored by the Persian writers. They remain, therefore, an important source for a fuller study of the society in the age of Akbar. To understand the age of Akbar, we have to read the writings of contemporary Jains.*

NOTES

1. Muni Jin Vijay (ed), *Vijnaptitrivenih* (Jain Atmanand Sabha, Bhavnagar, 1916), pp. 34, 39.
   The work basically deals with a pilgrimage undertaken by Jains from Sindh to Nagarkot (now in Himachal Pradesh) in Samvat 1484 i. e. in A. D. 1427.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
4. J.P. Jain, *Pramukh Jain Parush Aur Mahilayen* (Bhartiya Jnanpith, New Delhi, 1975), pp. 300-02.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 305-08; see also G.D. Sharma "Contemporary and Modern Trends of Writings on the Society of Rajasthan During the Mughal Period", in Ray and Chakrabarti (eds), *Studies in Cultural Development of India* (Punthi Pustak, Calcutta, 1991), pp. 293-309.
6. There are numerous examples of Rajput Chiefs occupying high civil and military posts under Akbar.
7. Kasturchand Kasliwal, *Khandelwal Jain Samaj Ka Brihad Itihas*, Vol. I (Jain Itihas Prakashan Sansthan, Jaipur, 1989), pp. 196-98; J.P. Jain, op. cit., p. 314.
8. Shireen Moosvi, *The Economy of the Mughal Empire c. 1595* (Oxford, Bombay, 1987), p. 353. See Table 15. 1.
9. J.P. Jain, op. cit., pp. 291-92. Banarsidas, *Ardha-Kathanak* (Hindi Granth Ratnakar, Bombay, 1943), pp. 19-22. This edition has been edited by Nathuram Premi.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 293.
11. J.P. Jain, op. cit. , p. 291.
12. Padmasundar wrote a work in Sanskrit entitled, "Akbarshahi Sringardarpan". Another Jain eulogistic work on Akbar is "Kripa-ras-kosa" by Santichandra.
13. *Surishwar Aur Samrat Akbar*, p. 105. He was accompanied by sixty-seven monks. The earlier visitor had in his entourage thirty-five monks; Muni Vidyavijay, *Vijay Prasastisar* (in Hindi), Lucknow, 1912, p. 32.
14. *Vijaya Prasastisar*, p. 31.
15. M.D. Desai, "Jain Priest at the Court of Akbar", *Journal of the Gujarat Research Society*, January 1942, Vol. IV, no. 7, p. 14.
16. *Surishwar Aur Samrat*, p. 128. Copies of the two firmans issued by Akbar in favour of the Jains are published in the Appendix. See *Ibid.*, pp. .375-86. The first firman was issued in A. H. 999 & the second in A. H. 1010.
17. J.P. Jain, op. cit. , pp. 289-90.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 290.
19. *Vijay Prasastisar*, pp. 40, 79. A schism which had plagued Jains of Ahmedabad for twelve years ended after Suriji intervened.
20. M.S. Commissariat, "Epigraphic and other Records in Gujarat Relating to the Jain Saint Hiravijaya Suri", *Journal of the Gujarat Research Society*, Vol. III, no. 3, p. 148.
21. Moosvi, *The Economy of the Mughal Empire*, c. 1595 (Oxford, Calcutta, 1987), p. 128.
22. *Ath Karmachandravam Sotkiiprtankam Kavyam* (in Sanskrit with Hindi translation), pp. 59, 75 and verses 272, 273, 340-42. The book was composed at Lahore in Samvat 1654. *Ibid.*, p. 119.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 69. V. 321.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 77. Vs. 354-55.
25. *Surishwar Aur Samrat*, pp. 99, 155, 258. He and Bhanukalyana were asked by Akbar to invite Hiravijaya Suri to the royal court at Agra. C. B. Seth, *Jainism in Gujarat*, Bhavanagar, 1953, p. 264.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 124; Seth, p. 135.
27. *Ardhakathanak*, p. 135.
28. J.P. Jain, op. cit. , p. 297.
29. Sri Vidyavijayji, *Surishwar Aur Samrat Akbar* (translated into Hindi from Gujarati by Krishnalal Varma) (Gayan Mandir, Agra, Samvat 1980), pp. 104-05. Hiravijay Suri was accompanied by sixty-seven saints. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
30. Ibid.
31. *Vijay Prasastisar*, *Surishwar Aur Samrat*, etc.
32. J.P. Jain, op. cit. , pp. 286-87.
33. Hukamchand Bharilla, *Pandit Todar Mal: Vyakhitva evam Krittiva.* (Jaipur, 1978), p. 2; *Khandelwal Jain Samaj. . . .* , p. 254.

34. Ravindra Kumar Jain, *Kavivar Banarsidas* (Varanasi, 1966), pp. 115-170.
35. J.P. Jain, op. cit., p. 296.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 296.
37. Dhirendra Varma & Brajeshwar Varma, op. cit., p. 484.
38. "Ath Karmachandravan sotkiirtankam.... ", p. 83. Vs. 381-83; *Vijay Prasastisar*, p. 58.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 85. Vs. 383-93, 428-29, *Surishwar Aur Samrat*, p. 156.
40. *Anekant*, Vol. VIII, nos. 4-5, p. 219.
41. See *Ardhakathanak*.
42. C. B. Sheth, op. cit., pp. 274-78.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 278-79.
44. Zohrapurkar and Kasliwal, *Vir Shasan Ke Prabhavak Acharya* (Bharattiya Jnanpitha, New Delhi, 1975), pp. 194-95.
45. Dhirendra Varma and Brajeshwar Varma (eds.), *Hindi Sahitya....*, Vol. II (Prayag, 1959), p. 485.
46. Kanta Prasad Jain, *Hindi Jain Ka Sankshipta Itihas* (Kasi, n. d.), p. 136.
47. Nemichanda Shastri, *Hindi Jain Sahitya Parishilan*, Vol. II, (Banaras, 1956), pp. 41-42.
48. Siddhichandra, *Bhanuchandraganicharit* (in Sanskrit), Calcutta, 1941, p. VII.
49. Some of the wroks were "Kriparaskosa", "Hirasaubhagya mahakavya", "Jagadguru Kavya", "Bhanuchandra Gani Caritra", "Akbar Pratibodh Rasa", "Vijay Prashasti Kavya", "Vijaya Deva Shri Mahatyam", "Suri Karma Chandra Charitra", etc.

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On the Epithet: *nāṭaka* for the *Samayasāra* of Kundakunda

Bansidhar Bhatt

Kundakunda occupies a prominent place in the history of Jainism. He is respected by the Digambaras as the promoter of their school, and by the Śvetāmbaras as one of the foremost representatives of the Jaina church. According to a study of Kundakunda and his works by A.N. Upadhye (see Introduction to his edition of the *Pravacanasāra*), Kundakunda's real name was Padmanandin, he was a native of South India—probably Andhra, and he flourished between 100 B.C. and A.D. 100. Schubring places him in the 2nd-3rd century A.D. (see his essay : *The Religion of the Jainas*, Calcutta 1966, p. 36).

Kundakunda is said to have composed as many as 84 works in Prakrit. A traditional list of 43 works ascribed to him is available (see Upadhye, *op.cit.* Intr., p. 24 note 1). At present we possess only 15 works (with a total of about 2000 verses; see Bibliography—A). These works vary in extent and content. Out of these 15, eight small compositions are grouped together as *Aṣṭa-prābhṛtas* (*Aṭṭha-pāhuḍas*); a collection of six out of these eight is called *Ṣaṭ-prābhṛtas* (*Chappāhuḍas*). Schubring has critically examined the *Aṣṭa-prābhṛtas* in his article: 'Kundakunda echt und unecht' (*ZDMG* 107, 1957. pp. 557-574). Kundakunda's philosophical views have been surveyed by A. Chakravarti (see his edition of the *Samayasāra or The Nature of the Self*, *MDJS* 1, 1950, Intr., pp. cxlvii-clxi; 2nd ed. 1971, Intr., pp. 103-113), and Pt. D.D. Malvania (*Āgam Yug-kā Jain Darśan*, Sanmati Sāhitya Ratnamālā 91, Agra, 1965, pp. 246-270).

In the fifteen works ascribed to Kundakunda we meet with the terms *niścaya-naya* (or its synonyms *śuddha-naya* and *paramârtha-naya*) and *vyavahāra-naya*. (In the *Samayasāra*, *Anuprekṣā* and *Niyamasāra*, the frequency of their usage is very high). Schubring demonstrated the corrupt character of some Prābhṛtas on the basis of differences in meter etc. (see his above-mentioned article). We studied all the works by analysing the 2000 verses ascribed to Kundakunda on the basis of the

niścaya-naya (idealistic approach) and *vyavahāra-naya* (realistic approach), and came to the conclusion that among the other works, it is mainly the *Samayasāra* (vss. 1-439 in Prakrit *āryā* meter) wherein we can observe an elaborate presentation of the mystic pattern (see Bhatt-1974). This mystic pattern, the singular contribution of the *Samayasāra* may therefore be called "Samayasāra mysticism", though the mystic pattern appears occasionally in the *Anuprekṣā* (see Bhatt-1977) and *Niyamasāra* as well. It should, however, be remembered that many verses dealing with the non-mystic pattern occur in all the works including the *Samayasāra*. As a result of our study we can say that the *Samayasāra*, as it is available now, is not a homogeneous work. It is highly probable that the nucleus of the *Samayasāra*, that is, the sections treating the mystic pattern, was composed by one individual who was Kundakunda. Our study offered a better understanding of Kundakunda's teachings, though it naturally reduced the *Samayasāra* to those sections which can certainly be ascribed to him. As far as the mystic pattern is concerned, we may further add that quite a few Digambara authors have casually mentioned it, presenting it in a more or less modified form. The non-mystic pattern, on the other hand, is the commonly accepted form of Jaina dogmatics and is available in Digambara as well as Śvetāmbara works.

The *niścaya-naya* standing for the higher or the ultimate reality and the *vyavahāra-naya* for the lower or the worldly approach in the *Samayasāra* mysticism are analogous to similar distinctions (paramârtha and vyavahāra or saṃvṛti, loka-saṃvṛti) of the Mādhyamika philosophy of Nāgārjuna (ca. 2nd cent. A.D.) in Buddhism, and the Vedānta philosophy of Śaṅkara (8th cent. A.D.) in Brahmanism. Both philosophers were also natives of South India, probably somewhere around Andhra. It is most likely that the mystic ideology of Nāgārjuna influenced the *Samayasāra* mysticism, the ideology, which was alien to Jainism before, but appeared first time in it through the *Samayasāra*. It is not difficult to trace its origin from the Mādhyamika philosophy itself. (Here it is needless to add that Śaṅkara was also influenced by such an ideology of the Buddhists).[1]

The present *Samayasāra* text is artificially divided subjectwise into some 7 or 9 sections including one "introductory" section at the beginning and one "concluding" section at the end. As a matter of fact, such divisions have no place in the original *Samayasāra*. The mystic teachings of the *Samayasāra* attracted many more Jainas only after Amṛtacandra, a Digambara monk of ca. 12th cent. of our era, wrote a (prose) commentary in Sanskrit on it, which is called *Ātmakhyāti*. The

title name *Ātmakhyāti* is a metaphysical term according to which the existence of only the ātman as an ultimate reality is admitted, and other worldly objects are considered transitory. Such a view (*khyāti*) is generally held by some Buddhists, viz. Vijñānavādins, Sautrāntikas, etc.[2] The *Ātmakhyāti* of Amṛtacandra contains some 278 (Sanskrit) verses in various meters scattered over the main prose commentary. They appear singly or at times in a group of more than one at the beginning or at the end of some topics, and have become more popular than even the main *Ātmakhyāti*—the commentary itself. This entire metrical portion (278 verses) was in course of time separated from the prose commentary and treated as an independent unit of composition of Amṛtacandra by assigning it a new name *Samayasāra-kalaśa* or simply *Kalaśa*. It is (less frequently) known also as *Amṛta-kalaśa* or *Param-ādhyātma-taraṅgiṇī*. The term *kalaśa* means a waterpot which is an auspicious symbol for protection and success in activities. It refers also to the highest attainable level of achievement. Therefore, *kalaśa*-verses signify culmination of topics discussed or explained in the *Ātmakhyāti*. We have thus three different names for one single composition viz. (1) *Ātmakhyāti-cum-kalaśa*, the commentary in its entirety, (2) *Ātmakhyāti*, only the main commentary—the prose portion, (3) *Kalaśa* or *Samayasāra-kalaśa*, only the metrical portion of the main commentary,—1-278 *kalaśa* verses.

From the above given short survey of the *Samayasāra* and Amṛtacandra's commentary on it, it will also be clear that we do not come across the epithet *nāṭaka* for the *Samayasāra* either in the text proper or in the commentary. This strange appellation for the *Samayasāra* is not found in other Jaina texts until the sixteenth century either. However, we simply record in the following paragraphs principal contributory works which directly bear on the *Samayasāra* or commentaries on it. We do not touch on other independent works of the type, though they might be influenced by the mystic ideology—e.g. *Nayacakra* of Devasena (893-943), *Niścayapañcāśat* of Padmanandin (ca. 11th cent.) unless they demand special interest so far as our study is concerned. We record them in chronological order, so that, it may also give an idea how much interest the *Samayasāra*-literature had aroused among the Jaina writers of successive generations. The term: chronology in this context implies only demonstration of a sequence of authors and their works according to their tentative dates and places (of activities), which are just mentioned, but not always certain. In fact, a historical survey of the Jaina literature as a whole is beset with difficulties on account of innumerable instances where one and the same

appellation embraced more than one author, and his time and place of activities/birth are rarely recorded or reliable.

The *Yogasāra* (*-prābhṛta*) ascribed to a Digambara monk Amitagati (993-1021 AD) is here worthy of our note as a work with fervour of mystic ideas directly bearing on the *Samayasāra* of Kundakunda. It can be placed earlier than the *Ātmakhyāti*-cum-*kalaśa* of Amṛtacandra. The *Yogasāra* is a Sanskrit rendering of the Prakrit gāthās of the entire *Samayasāra*. It contains 540 verses in different meters, and a total of 9 sections (*adhikāras*). Amitagati, belonging to the Mathurā-saṃgha, would have propagated the *Samayasāra* teachings in the area around Mathura. The title *Yogasāra* is in the context remarkable, but even in this work, the epithet *nāṭaka* for the *Samayasāra* is unknown. Moreover, it can not be considered a commentary on the *Samayasāra*. (For Amitagati, see Williams, pp. 23-24, Sternbach, pp. 59-67). That the *Yogasāra* could not arouse interest among the Jainas for the mystic ideas is confirmed by the fact that it is rarely known among the other texts of the *samayasāra*-literature.

But, Amṛtacandra's talented gift for clear and decisive exposition of the mystic theme with a poetic fervour animated many Jainas in embracing the new ideology of mysticism in Jainism. Besides, Amṛtacandra's close attachment to the Yāpanīya-saṃgha is an additional factor in playing a considerable role in his character. Generally, Jainas of the Yāpanīya-saṃgha are known for their catholicity of outlook and singleminded character. They are not orthodox, not bound with fetters of any particular sect, whether Śvetāmbara or Digambara, (see Bhatt—1974). This gave Amṛtacandra's distinct personality an impulse of propagating mysticism. And his commentary on the *Samayasāra* cast a spell on many Jainas who being initiated in the new ideology of mysticism, subsequently made it widespread in western and southern parts of India.

Upadhye-Jain in a General Editorial (p. 5) of the *Samayasāra* edition refer to commentaries by Malliṣeṇa and Prabhācandra on the three *prābhṛtas* (viz. *Samayasāra*, *Pravacanasāra* and *Pañcāstikāyasāra*), but we do not have any record of commentaries written by either Malliṣeṇa (ca. 12th cent.) or Prabhācandra (ca. 1414 AD, Delhi) on the *Samayasāra*. Most probably, the statement of Upadhye-Jain is only a traditional belief lacking any historical evidence.

A Digambara monk Jayasena (1292-1323) wrote a commentary called *Tātparya-vṛtti* in Sanskrit prose on the *Samayasāra* (see A.N. Upadhye: *Pravacanasāra*, Intr. p. 104, Bombay 1935; Upadhye-Jain. Intr., p. 6). An influence of the *Ātmakhyāti*-cum-*kalaśa* on the

Tātparya-vṛtti is quite apparent. It contains 11-12 sections (*adhikāras*).

Śubhacandra (1516-1556), a disciple of Vijayakīrti and an author of the *Pāṇḍava-purāṇa*, also commented on the *Paramâdhyātmataraṅgiṇī* (the kalaśa-verses). This commentary (Sanskrit prose) is called *Adhyātma-pada-vṛtti*. Śubhacandra flourished somewhere in the northern region (Vāgaḍa) of Gujarat.

On the basis of a vague statement in a bare informative thesis (in Hindi) by Śuddhātmaprabhā (p. 239), we examined available sources to confirm whether two monks, one ācārya Jñānasāgara (ca. 16th or 17th cent.) and the other, a khaṇḍelavāla Jaina muni called Vīrasāgara (1924-1957, Śāntisāgara's disciple) of Bombay wrote any commentaries on the *Tātparya-vṛtti* of Jayasena. Unfortunately, the statement is not reliable and lacks proper evidence. But, it is likely that these two personalities would have written commentaries in Hindi on the *Tātparya-vṛtti*, which would have so far remained unpublished.

But, the period around the 16th century is remarkable for powerful religious activities of the Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras under the patronage of the Mogul emperors in the northern parts of India. Many Digambaras propagated the mystic ideas of the *samayasāra*-literature as an extraordinary contribution to the Jaina philosophy, and influenced some Śvetāmbaras of the time. The ideas attracted many Jainas, and the literature became more popular. As a result, some interested Śvetāmbara monks wrote independent treatises following the *samayasāra*-literature. This is remarkable probably because an orthodox Jaina belonging to Śvetāmbara sect will not write commentary on any work of his rival Digambara sect, and vice versa! Among such Śvetāmbara treatises on the mystic theme, two are worthy of our note, viz. the *Adhyātma-bindu* of Harṣavardhana and the *Jñāna-candrôdaya-nāṭaka* of Padmasundara. Both are metrical compositions in Sanskrit.

Besides, some Jaina pandits composed free commentaries in native dialects/languages on the *samayasāra*-literature and propagated the mysticism among the masses. Vernacular commentaries are generally called (*bhāṣā-*) *vacanikā*. The earliest *vacanikā* on the *Samayasāra* was composed in Kannaḍa prose by a Digambara monk Bālacandra (Nayakīrti's disciple) sometime in the middle of the 14th century. He followed the *Tātparya-vṛtti* of Jayasena in the *vacanikā*. In the 16th century Pāṇḍe Rāyamalla (Rājmalla) wrote a *vacanikā* in the Ḍhunḍhārī dialect of Rajasthan on the *kalaśa*-verses of Amṛtacandra. It is in prose and called *Bālabodha*. Williams (p. 31) places him in the Magadh regions (Viratnagar). Rāyamalla flourished a little earlier than pandit Toḍaramalla whose place of religious activities was Jaipur. The

Bālabodha contains 12 sections (*adhikāras*).

Bālabodha of Pāṇḍe Rāyamalla strongly influenced Pandit (=Pt.) Banārasīdāsa (alias Vikramajita, ca. 1624-1674), a Śvetāmbara layman belonging to the Śrīmāl Jaina family of Jaunpur (Uttar Pradesh). He was a contemporary of Tulasīdāsa, the famous author of the *Rāmacarita-mānasa*. He composed a Hindi *vacanikā* in rhymes (about 727 verses in *dohā*, *caupāī*, *savaiyā*, etc.) on the *kalaśa*-verses of Amṛtacandra, and subsequently adopted the Digambara sect. The *vacanikā* contains 14-15 sections (dvāras) and is called *Samayasāra-Nāṭaka*.[3]

After Banārasīdāsā's *Samayasāra-Nāṭaka*, Pt. Jayacanda Chābaḍā (1763-1829) belonging to a khandelavāla Jaina family of Jaipur composed a Ḍhundhārī *vacanikā* probably on the *Samaysāra* of Kundakunda and Pt. Sadāsukhalāla (1793-1863, Pt. Jayacanda's disciple) wrote a commentary on the *Samayasāra-Nāṭaka* of Banārasīdāsa (see *JSK* Part 2, p. 323; Part 4, p. 330). Pt. Jayacanda Chābaḍā was a Śvetāmbara Jaina following the Terāpanthī sect.

Among all these available texts or commentaries on the *Samayasāra*-literature, we have only two texts, viz. the *Jñānacandrodaya-nāṭaka* of Padamsundara and the *Samayasāra-Nāṭaka* of Pt. Banārasīdāsa in which the epithet *nāṭaka* is in evidence with the title of their compositions. These are the earlier evidences of the type. However, it is only in the latter that a common appellation *nāṭaka* seems to have been coined for the *Samayasāra* of Kundakunda (often: "nāṭaka", but sometimes: "Samayasāra-nāṭaka") and rarely for the *Kalaśa* of Amṛtacandra, but never for the *Bālabodha* of Pāṇḍe Rājamalla! Nor do we come across in the *Samayasāra-Nāṭaka* of Pt. Banārasīdāsa any clear reference particularly to the *Ātmakhyāti*, since in his time it was almost completely overshadowed by the *kalaśa*-verses.

Before we discuss the matter in detail, we mention below in tabular forms names of various sections and show how the *Samayasāra* gāthās or the *kalaśa*-verses are distributed in works that are essential for the present study. Henceforth we have to be precise in referring to the two different works having one and the same appellation, viz.

(1) *Samayasāra-Nāṭaka*=	Pt. Banārasīdāsa's *vacanikā* in Hindi rhymes as a commentary on the *Kalaśa* of Amṛtacandra.
(2) "*Samayasāra-nāṭaka*"= -or- "nāṭaka"	A special name given to the *Samayasāra* of Kundakunda in No. (1).

Table 1: Sections and distribution of *Samayasāra* gāthās (*Ātmakhyāti-cum-kalaśa and Tātparya-vṛtti*)

Sect. Nos.	*Ātmakhyāti*-cum-*kalaśa*		*Tātparya-vṛtti*	
	Sectional name (aṅka)	Distr. of gāthās	Sectional name (adhikāra)	Distr. of gāthās
Intr.	pūrva-raṅga	1-38	pīṭhikā	1-14
1.	jīva-ajīva	39-68	jīva	15-43
2.	kartā-karma	69-144	ajīva	44-73
3.	puṇya-pāpa	145-163	pīthikā for puṇya-pāpa etc.	74-152
4.	āsrava	164-180	puṇya-pāpa	153-171
5.	saṃvara	181-192	āsrava	172-188
6.	nirijarā	193-236	saṃvara	189-202
7.	bandha	237-287	nirjarā	203-252
8.	mokṣa	288-307	bandha	253-308
9.	sarva-viśuddha-jñāna	308-415	mokṣa	309-327
10.	-	-	mokṣa (cūlikā)	328-341
11.	-	-	samayasāra cūlikā(-sarva-viśuddha-jñāna)	342-437

The *Ātmakhyāti*-cum-*kalaśa* and the *Tātparya-vṛtti* are not uniform in number of sections, their names and distribution of the Samayasāra gāthās. Sections in general are called aṅkas in the former and adhikāras in the latter.

Table 2: Sections and distribution of *kalaśa*-verses (*Bālabodha* and *Samayasāra-Nāṭaka*)

	Bālabodha		*Samayasāra-Nāṭaka*		
Sect. Nos.	Sectional name (adhikāra)	Distr. of ka. -vss	Sectional name (dvāra)	Hindi rhymes	Distr. of ka. -vss.
Intr.	-	-	maṅgalâcaraṇa-utthānika	1-51	-
1.	jīva	1-32 =(1-32)	jīva	1-35	1-32 =(1-32)
2.	ajīva	1-13 =(33-45)	ajīva	1-14	1-13 =(33-45)
3.	kartā-karma	1-54 =(46-99)	kartā-karma -kriyā	1-36	1-54 =(46-99)
4.	puṇya-pāpa	1-13 =(100-112)	puṇya-pāpa -ektava	1-16	1-13 =(100-112)
5.	āsrava	1-12 =(113-124)	āsrava	1-15	1-12 =(113-124)
6.	saṃvara	1-8 =(125-132)	saṃvara	1-11	1-8 =(125-132)
7.	nirjarā	1-30 =(133-162)	nirjarā	1-61	1-30 =(133-162)
8.	bandha	1-17 =(163-179)	bandha	1-58	1-17 =(163-179)
9.	mokṣa	1-13 =(180-192)	mokṣa	1-53	1-13 =(180-192)
10.	sarva-viśuddha -jñāna	1-54 =(193-246)	sarva-viśuddhi	1-139	1-53+1* =(193-246)
11.	syād-vāda	1-17 =(247-263)	syād-vāda	1-29	1-17 =(247-263)
12.	sādhya-sādhaka	1-15 =(264-278)	sādhya-sādhaka	1-56	1-15 =(264-278)

13.	-	-	14-guṇa-sthānas*	1-115	-
concl.	-	-	grantha-samāpti (praśasti) (idar-ms.):-	1-40 + 1-8	-
			Total:	737	

*An extra *kalaśa*-verse between *kalaśa*-verses 18 and 19 on p. 268. It is the original *kalaśa*-verse 211.

The *Samayasāra* gāthās have through numbering almost in all editions. It is also most likely that the *kalaśa*-verses as a part and parcel of the main commentary of Amṛtacandra would have required no special numbering, though in all editions they also have through numbering (see Tables 1-2). The sectional names in Tables 1-2 recall us the seven or nine tattvas—substances, which are generally known and discussed in Jaina philosophy, and few sectional names are mere elaboration of some of the tattvas (e.g. jīva-ajīva and kartā-karma, mokṣa and sarva-viśuddha-jñāna, etc.), the names : syād-vāda, sādhya-sādhaka and the 14 guṇa-sthānas are additional sections elaborated in vacanikās (see Table 2).

The *Bālabodha* and the *Samayasāra-Nāṭaka* are almost consistent in their sectional names and distribution of *kalaśa*-verses. The latter is more elaborate and poetic, the former more philosophic and precise in their treatment. The *Samayasāra-Nāṭaka* contains 732 rhymes in Hindi for 278 *kalaśa*-verses, that is, more than two rhymes have been allotted to each *kalaśa*-verse, on the average. But the rhymes are not so evenly distributed. Strictly speaking, the rhymes are not a translation, nor do they have any explanatory character. They just touch on the *kalaśa*-verses and run independently as a lucid poetry. In it, section 13 (=14 guṇa-sthānas) is entirely a new addition embedded with the kalaśa-verses or the *Samayasāra* corpus (cf. *Samayasāra-Nāṭaka* 13.4-6).

Pt. Banārasīdāsa has coined an epithet : nāṭaka and used it for the *Samayasāra* of Kundakunda (+/-20 times), but only once for the *Ātmakhyāti*-cum-*kalaśa* in his *Samayasāra-Nāṭaka* (SN), e.g.

> Kundakundācārija prathama gāthā-baddha kari,
> "Samaisāra-nāṭaka" vicāri nāma dayaū hai / (Con.8)

"First, Kundakundācārya called it "Samayasāra-nāṭaka" having properly

thought and composed it in a gāthā-form."

(Our transliteration of Hindi rhymes in the Roman script is of the written form, and their rendering into English is not literal, but only a paraphrase giving a full sense.)

For similar rhymes, see *SN*. con. 3, 22-23, 34, 40, 12, 53, Idar-ms. 1 on p. 423.

But, quite often the name "nāṭaka" in the *SN* stands for the Samayasāra, e.g.

> tāisāṃ budha ṭīkā kari "nāṭaka" sugama kīnāu, ...// (Int.13)

"Similarly the learned one (Amṛtacandra) wrote a commentary on it and made the 'nāṭaka' easily understandable".

(see also *SN*. Int. 11-13, 15, 51, 10.1, 137, 11.3, 13.4, Con.2, 4, 8, 21, 24, 28).

However, it should be borne in mind that at some places (e.g. *SN*. Int. 51, 1.4, 10.131, Con.7) a simple title-name Samayasāra without the epithet nāṭaka is also found in the *SN*.

The rhyme 12.56 clearly refers to the commentary of Amṛtacandra with the name: "*samayasāra-nāṭaka*" as follows:

> Amṛtacandra muni-rāja-kṛta pūrana bhayāu girantha/
> "samayasāra-nāṭaka" pragaṭa pancama gati-ko pantha//

"Samayasāra-naṭaka", the clear path leading to salvation (in the commentary form) composed by Amṛtacandra, the great among the munis, is now complete. Here also, the "samayasāra-nāṭaka" may be taken for the *Samayasāra* proper! One rhyme (Int. 10) with the word Nāṭaka can be interpreted as the title of the *SN* proper as follows:

> bandāum siva avagāhanā, aru bandāuṃ siva pantha/
> jasu prasāda bhāṣā karāuṃ, Nāṭaka nāma garantha//

"Ī salute the auspicious form and the auspicious path, on account of whose favour, I compose the work called Nāṭaka in the vernacular language." Here also Nāṭaka may be interpreted as "Samayasāra-nāṭaka".

Pt. Banārasīdāsa employs the epithet nāṭaka and other equivalent expressions (nṛtya, naṭa, etc). in their original sense (Prakrit : naṭ-, Sanskrit base : nṛt-, "to dance") as follows:

(A) *Transitory or illusory character* (matter involved):-

1. nāṭaka = dance performance ——nṛtya = dance
   yā ghaṭa-maiṁ bhrama-rūpa anādi, visāla mahā aviveka akhārau/
   tā-mahi..................puggala nṛtya karai ati bhārau//
   ....judāu jaḍa-sauṁ, cina-mūrati nāṭaka dekhanāharau//
   (Int. 13)

"In the heart lies a huge and wide stage of indiscrimination, confusing since the time immemorial. On it ... dances the pudgala (matter) excessively, whereas, the embodiment of pure spirit (Intellect), being apart from the (lifeless) matter, watches the dance performance."
(see also *SN*. 8.27, 9.17, 10.132-133, con. 40,——for nṛtya, see *SN*. con.5, ——for akhārā = "platform/stage", see *SN* 1.35).

2. naṭa = dancer, naṭa-bājī=art of dancing (dance performance)
   esāu prabhu cetana, acetana-kī sangati-sauṁ,
   ulaṭa palaṭa naṭa-bājī-sī karatu hai // (10.46).

"So, the powerful spirit apparently represents himself to and fro in the dance performance in association with the non-spirit (matter)".

parjaya pravāṁna gyāna nānā-kāra naṭa hai / (11.17)

"Manyfold knowledge is a dancer from the viewpoint of the paryāyas."
(see also *SN*. 8.50, 9.14, 10.47).

3. (nāṭaka)-naṭatu=dance
   taisaiṁ bhava-vāsī māyā-sauṁ hita māni māni,
   ṭhāni ṭhāni bhrama śrama nāṭaka naṭatu hai//(8.27)

"Similarly the worldly beings often consider all advantages only in contact with māyā (illusion) and dance with full of labour and confusion everywhere." (It is rendered in plural.)
(see also *SN* 8.43 : nāci nāci marai ... "he dances and dies...")

(B) *Liberated state* (pure spirit):-

The word nāṭaka/naṭa implies also extreme emotional exaltation that lifts the liberated soul into a trance-like state and captures its entire

attention evoking intense delight and contentment, e.g.

nirajarā nāda gājai dhyāna bājai,
chakyau mahānanda-maiṃ samādhi rījhi karikai/
sattā ranga-bhūmi-maiṃ mukata bhayau tihūṃ kāla,
nācai suddha-diṣṭi naṭa gyāna svānga dharikai// (7.61)

"The dancer feels himself liberated in all times (in the past, present and future). As such, tunes of nirjarā reverberate, drumbeats of concentration are rhythmic, being pleased in the meditation, he is overpowered with great joy, and having the pure (right) insight, he dances on a stage of his own existence." (cf. kalaśa-vs. 30).

Suddhâtama anubhau abhyāsi, siva nāṭaka manḍai//(10.106)

"One disciplined in experiencing (one's own self) the pure soul enlivens an auspicious dance performance (of the final liberation)." (cf. kalaśa-vs.40)
All the terms employed in the *SN* are found also in some kalaśa-verses and the *Bālabodha*, as follows:

(A) *Transitory or illusory character* (matter involved)

asminn anādini mahaty aviveka-nāṭye
..............naṭati pudgala eva nânyaḥ/ (*kalaśa*-vs. 44)

"In the huge dance representation of indiscrimination that is beginningless, dances only the pudgala, but not the other one (jīva)".
(see also *Bālabodha* on it p. 44).

Similar instances in the *Kalaśa* are:

1. mohas tu tat katham aho bata nānaṭîti//
(vs. 43, *Bālabodha*, p. 43)
2. nepathye bata nānatîti rabhasā mohas tathâpy eṣa kim//
(vs. 98, *Bālabodha*, p. 80)
3. ...kṛtvā pramattaṃ jagat...—mahā-nāṭyena bandhaṃ.../
(vs. 163, *Bālabodha*, p. 145)

(B) *Liberated state* (pure spirit):

> samyag-dṛṣṭiḥ ... jñānaṃ bhūtvā naṭati
> gaganâbhoga-raṅgaṃ vigāhya//(vs. 162)

"One with right insight getting the higher knowledge par excellence dances after entering the stage of the entire heaven".

(see *Bālabodha*, p. 144 and cf. the verse with *SN* 7.61 stated above).

However, the causative expressions of the root: naṭ -, meaning thereby "to represent/act" in general lose here their implication of the dramatic sense, viz. "to play a role of", "to impersonate", especially in their employment in our (B) type. They simply mean here "to present to the mind", "to put clearly before the mind", or "to experience"! Some of the instances are as follows:

> ...sahajâvasthāṃ sphuṭaṃ nāṭayad ... nir-upadhi jñānaṃ samunmajjati// (vs. 163)

"The higher knowledge unqualified par excellence distinctly representing the original state (of liberation) emerges itself".

> praspaṣṭaṃ nāṭayitvā pralayanaṃ akhilâjñāna-saṃcetanāyāḥ/
> ...jñāna-saṃcetanāṃ svāṃ,
> sânandaṃ nāṭayantaḥ praśama-rasam itaḥ sarva-kālaṃ pibantu//
> (vs.233)

"Having clearly experienced the annihilation of the entire mental ignorance, may you, henceforth, all the time enjoy the rasa of the absolute peace while experiencing with pleasure your own consciousness of the higher knowledge".

Compare with this vs. 45 also: itthaṃ jñāna-krakaca-kalanā-pāṭanaṃ nāṭayitvā . . .

But, interesting is the kalaśa-vs, 112; which runs as follows:

> ...nāṭayat pīta-mohaṃ,
> mūlônmūlaṃ sakalam api tat karma kṛtvā balena/
> ...jñāna-jyotiḥ...prôjjajṛmbhe...///

"Having pulled up by the root with vigour, the entire karma in experiencing it as immersed in delusion, the lustre of the higher knowledge emerged (arose)".

Here, the normal meaning (to experience) is evident.

Amṛtacandra is fond of poetic embellishment. The above-mentioned instances of causative expressions from the root naṭ- in a special sense as shown in (B) above will serve as an illustration of his mastery of successfully making the didactic composition as much effective as an ideal piece of literary art. Throughout in his kalaśa-verses, he has remarkably interwoven many rhetorical terms of dramatic importance. We will show here without comments, only such instances from the *Kalaśa*, in which the terms are clearly noticeable, but leave out other instances, though they may apparently be interpreted in the same way from the literary point of view. Their treatment is not relevant in the present study.

(1) "dhīrôdātta" : Among the 4 types of the nāyakas (chief characters in Sanskrit dramas/plays: cf. *Nāṭyaśāstra* 24.3), the dhīrôdātta type is brave and noble, and notably righteous and heroic in justice. This term is often used in some kalaśa-verses, e.g.

- (i) *dhīrôdāttaṃ*...vilasati jñānaṃ mano hlādayat// (vs. 33) ("The dhīrôdātta Higher-Knowledge pleasing the mind becomes visible".)
- (ii) jñāna-jyotiḥ sphurati paramôdāttam atyanta-*dhīram*// (vs. 46)
- (iii) ayam *udāra-gabhīra*-mahôdayo jayati dur-jaya-bodha-dhanur-dharaḥ// (vs. 113)
- (iv) *dhīrôdāra*-mahimni ... bodhe ... // (vs. 123)
- (v) *dhīrôdāraṃ* ... -jñānaṃ samunmajjati // (vs. 163)
- (vi) siddhânto 'yaṃ ... *udātta-citta-caritair* mokṣârthibhiḥ sevyatām // (vs. 185)

(2) *sthāyi-bhāvas* and *rasas*:—The *sthāyi-bhāvas* are "abiding emotions" or they suggest "basic emotional states". They are eight-fold, viz. *rati*: love/sexual desire, *hāsa*: laughter, *śoka*: grief, *krodha*: anger, *utsāha*: (heroic) energy, *bhaya*: fear, *jugupsā*: disgust, and *vismaya*: wonder (for *sthāyi-bhāvas*, see *Nāṭyaśāstra* 6.18).

The chief element of poetry is the *rasa* (taste/flavour or intensified emotion). There are eight *rasas* which run parallel respectively to the eight varieties of the *sthāyi-bhāvas*. The eight *rasas* are:

śṛṅgāra: erotic, *hāsya*: comic, *karuṇa*: tragic, *raudra*: furious, *vīra*: heroic, *bhayānaka*: fearsome, *bībhatsa*: loathsome/gruesome, and *adbhuta*: marvellous (*adbhuta* is again two-fold : *divya*: divine, and *ānanda*: delight; for *rasas*, see *Nāṭyaśāstra* 6.16). Sometime, *śānta* is considered as the 9th *rasa*. It is a basic emotional state corresponding to spiritual calmness, or mental happiness,—a state, which consists in the total annihilation of worldly desires—cf. "*śama-sthāyi-bhāvao mokṣa-pravartakaḥ*" (see also *Nāṭyaśāstra* 6.83, etc. for *rasas*).

The *sthāyi-bhāvas*/*rasas* in the Kalaśa-verses are evident as follows :-

(i) *rati*/*śṛṅgāra*:
ārabdha-keli (vs.112), utpulaka-vadanā rāgiṇaḥ... ālambantāṃ...virahāt...(vs. 137), rāgiṇo nitya-mattāḥ... andhāḥ...śuddhaḥ śuddhaḥ...*sthāyi-bhāvatvam* eti/ (vs. 138), sva-dravye *ratim* eti (vs. 191), cumbanâkula-dhiyaḥ...(vs. 215), para-bhāva-viraha-...(vs. 259), etc.

(ii) *hāsa*:
...avilāsi-vikāsa-*hāsaḥ*...(vs. 268), etc.

(iii) *adbhuta*:
...*adbhuta-rasaṃ* jñānaṃ svayaṃ dhāvati/(vs. 109), *rasaḥ* sa eṣa bhagavān...*adbhuta*-nidhiḥ...(vs. 141), idam *adbhutaṃ* vaibhavam (vs. 273), svabhāva-mahimâtmano vijayate '*dbhutâ*dbhutaḥ/ (vs. 274).
In this context, remarkable are the terms: *camat-kāra* (sudden delight, rapture), e.g. cic-*camat-kāra*-mātram (vs. 5), *camat-kāra* eva (vs. 206),...cic-*camat-kāra* eṣaḥ (vs. 275), - - - also other terms, e.g. *rāga-rasa*-riktatayā (vs. 148), sarva *rāga-rasa* varjana-śīlaḥ (vs. 149), ahaṃ-kṛti-*rasena* (vs. 169), sahaja-param*ānanda-rasam* (vs. 180), etc.

(iv) *bhaya*:
see vss. 155-160.

(v) *śānta (-rasa)*:
...majjantu...lokāh ...*śānta-rasa* samastāḥ//(vs. 32).
...*śamayad* abhitaḥ...jñāna-jyotiḥ...(vs. 46), *śānta*-cittāḥ . . . amṛtaṃ pibanti//(vs. 69), *śāntaṃ* mahaḥ (vs. 123), sânandaṃ nāṭayantaḥ pra-śama-rasam...(vs. 233), etc.

The other terms are:

bhūmikā (a character, an actor's role), e.g. ajñāna-maya-

bhāvānām...*bhumikāḥ* (vs. 68), ... *vibhāva* (stimulant), e.g. vedya-vedaka-*vibhāva*-calatvāt (vs. 147), rāga-dveṣa-*vibhāva*-muktam...(vs. 223),——*anubhāva* (consequent), e.g.... moha-nāmno '*nubhāvāt*... (vs.3). etc.——*sphuṭam/pra-sphuṭam* (according to Bhartṛhari's *sphoṭa-vāda*, it is for "the accompanying metaphysical explosion of a phonemic pattern"), e.g. *pra-sphuṭann* eka eva (vs. 28), *viśuddhaṃ sphuṭat* (vs. 33), *sphuṭataram* avagāhya...(vs. 36), *sphuṭa*-vighaṭanam (vs.45), sahajâvasthāṃ *sphuṭaṃ* nāṭayat...(vs. 163), *sphuṭad* ananta-śaktiḥ (vs. 212), etc.

From the foregoing discussion it is clear that the epithet nāṭaka implies "dance performance" and stands for all mundane character, the worldly appearance (cf. *S.N.* Con. 40: *samayasāra* ātama darava, nāṭaka bhāva ananta/ "The term *samayasāra* is the substance ātman, and the term nāṭaka stands for endless conditions") in contrast with the term *samayasāra* signifying the pure soul (cf. kalaśa-vss. 93, 120, 240-41, 243-44, etc.). But, the epithet does not signify any dramatic performance, notwithstanding Amṛtacandra's tendency of using some dramatic terms to give kalaśa-verses an extra touch of poetic beauty.

The peculiar use of nāṭaka in the kalaśa-verses has to be viewed from a particular angle. The epithet belongs to the meta-language of the *samayasāra*-literature which developed in the medieval period. It stands for "mundane character", "saṃsāric appearance", and the like. It implies that whatever is mundane is transitory, not real. This special meaning of the term nāṭaka can be traced from the Sāṃkhya concepts of prakṛti (matter) as a nartakī (dancer) and puruṣa (spirit) as a mere prekṣaka (spectator), e.g.

> raṅgasya darśayitvā nivartate nartakī yathā nṛtyāt/
> puruṣasya tathâtmānaṃ prakāśya nivartate prakṛtiḥ//
> (*Sāṃkhya-kārikā* vs. 59)

"Just as a dancer, having exhibited herself to the audience quits dancing, similarly, the prakṛti desists (from deceptive activities) having manifested herself to the puruṣa".

> ...prakṛtiṃ paśyati puruṣaḥ prekṣaka-vat...//
> (*Sāṃkhya-kārikā* vs. 65)
> "...The puruṣa as a spectator sees the prakṛti..."

Amṛtacandra derived his line of thinking more or less from the Sāṃkhya school of philosophy. He performed a two-fold task in his *Ātmakhyāti*-cum-*kalaśa*. He revived the mystic philosophy as found in Kundakunda's *Samayasāra* and reformed it in a modified way after keeping the Sāṃkhya views in mind. Moreover, the selective employment of the pattern of prekṣaka, nartakī and nṛtya (the audience, dancer and dance-performance), that served as an appropriate model in the Sāṃkhya system for an explanation of the nature of puruṣa, prakṛti and their interaction—the saṃsāra, also tempted Amṛtacandra to adopt it similarly in his commentary on the *Samayasāra*. Ultimately his commentary, the *Atmakhyāti*-cum-*kalaśa* became popular among almost all Jainas, who accepted it as a distinguished source book of the mystic ideas in Jainism as a whole. Below, we demonstrate in Table 3 principal sources (Sāṃkhya, Buddhism, etc.), their relevant ideas in elementary form, and places wherever the Jaina mysticism and standard Jainism (non-mystic philosophy) stand, and how Amṛtacandra modified the early mysticism.

An expression of nāṭaka, being equally appropriate and precise, appeared in Jaina mystic works as early as the 17th century in north India. We find its earlier traces in the *Samayasāra-Nāṭaka* of Pt. Banārasīdāsa. The expression nāṭaka means a dance performance, and signifies an interaction between jīva and ajīva/pudgala resulting in the saṃsāra—Weltanschauung, which is illusory from the mystic point of view (for the expressions : nāṭaka, nṛtya, etc., see above pp. 439-441 for prekṣaka = nāṭaka dekhanahāra -, see *SN*. Int. 13, for nartakī = pātura = a vernacular term for a dancer/courtesan, see *SN*.1.35). The epithet nāṭaka in its secondary sense of "mystic philosophy" as such would have come into existence in or around the 16th or 17th century, and almost all Digambara mystics of the northern regions, speaking vernacular languages/dialects, favourably accepted the practice of using the designation nāṭaka generally for only the authentic text of mystic philosophy, viz. the *Samayasāra* of Kundakunda. But in spite of its connection with the title : *Samayasāra*, it is not restricted to denote the *Samayasāra* text only. It suggests two particular texts more, according to the context. Thus, *samayasāra-nāṭaka* means, according to the context, primarily, the so-called a canonized Prakrit text of mystic philosophy, viz. the *Samayasāra* ("Samayasāra-nāṭaka") of Kundakunda, but secondarily, the *Ātmakhyāti*-cum-*kalaśa* (rarely) of Amṛtacandra and the *Samayasāra-Nāṭaka* of Pt. Banārasīdāsa. The *Ātmakhyāti/Kalaśa* and the *Samayasāra-Nāṭaka*, both texts of the medieval period attracted almost all Digambara mystics of successive generations till recently, so

Table 3: Places of Jaina mysticism and standard Jainism

1.	Sāṃkhya system (main source)	- puruṣa - prakṛti - their interaction	: real, inactive. : real, active. : illusory.
2. (a)	Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā* (2nd cent. AD)		
(b)	Kundakunda's (Original) *Samayasāra* (3rd cent. AD)	- jīva/ātman - ajīva/prakṛti - their interaction	: real, inactive. : unreal : illusory.
(c)	Śaṃkara's *Brahma-Sūtra-Bhāṣya* (8th cent. AD)		
3. (a)	Standard Jainism (ca. 6th cent. AD)	- jīva	: real, active.
(b)	Interpolated gāthās in the original *Samayasāra*, see 2 (b) above.	- ajīva/pudgala - their interaction	: real, active. : real.
4.	Amṛtacandra's *Ātmakhyāti*-cum-*kalaśa*, a commentary on the present *Samayasāra*: i.e. 2 (b) + 3 (b)	- jīva/ātman - ajīva/pudgala - their interaction	: real, active. : real, active. : illusory.

much so, that the former has been lifted to a rank of a Sanskrit "canon" due to its outstanding contribution to the Jaina mysticism by means of faithfully representing the *Samayasāra* itself, and the latter achieved the status of a holy scripture of the masses due to its elaboration of the fundamental teachings of the above-stated two mystic canons (in Prakrit and Sanskrit) in vernacular rhymes. The usages of the epithet nāṭaka

including the other derivatives from naṭ-/nṛt- as discussed above (nāṭaka = dance performance, and also : nāṭaka with/as a title) seem to have lasted for two centuries.

But it is ironical that some orthodox "ignorant" pandits though well-versed in Sanskrit, misunderstood the simple root naṭ-/nṛt- and its implications in Amṛtacandra's commentary on the *Samayasāra*, which, on the contrary, the popular vernacular pandits like Pāṇḍe Rāyamalla and Pt. Banārasīdāsa understood and interpreted most accurately. One of such orthodox (Digambara) pandits mistook Amṛtacandra's commentary for a drama (nāṭaka) and incorporated here and there in it some stray remarks and stage-directions, which, he thought, were lacking in the commentary as an ideal "dramatic" composition, he did so on a plain analogy of the new expression nāṭaka used as a title of the *Ātmakhyāti/Kalaśa* in the *Samayasāra-Nāṭaka*, and some dramatic terms in the *Ātmakhyāti*-cum-*Kalaśa* discussed above (see pp. 444-446).

The stray remarks and stage directions inserted in the *Ātmakhyāti*-cum-*kalaśa* of Amṛtacandra are as follows:

1. *Stray remarks* :-

—before kalaśa-vs. 1: prathamataḥ paramâtmâdi-namas-kṛti-rūpa-maṅgalam ācaṣṭe. ("At first, he expresses benediction in the form of homage to the Supreme-soul, etcetera.")
—before kalaśa-vs.278 : atha Amṛtacandra-sūreḥ ... -kṛta-kṛtyatvaṃ kīrtyate. ("Now, Amṛtacandra-sūri's ... accomplishment is glorified."); after kalaśa-vs. 32 : pūrva-raṅgaḥ samāptaḥ. ("The prologue ended.")

2. *Stage directions* :-

—after kalaśa-vs. 162: iti nirjarā niṣkrāntā. ("Thus, exit Nirjarā."); after kalaśa-vs. 179: iti bandho niṣkrāntaḥ ... ("Thus, exit Bandha." See also after kalaśa-vs. 99, etc. etc.)

Some of the stray remarks referring to the author, sometime by his name and sometime indirectly in the third person, surely come from the pen of a different writer. Some stray remarks were later necessitated for an explanation of and an introduction to the bare kalaśa-verses (=*Kalaśa*) as detached from the *Ātmakhyāti*—the prose commentary on the *Samayasāra*. The state directions seem to have crept in the text at the time when the epithet nāṭaka was associated with the *Samayasāra*. It

should, however, be remarked that such prose remarks and stage-directions have no place in the *Bālabodha* of Pāṇḍe Rāyamalla and the *Samayasāra-Nāṭaka* of Pt. Banārasīdāsa as well.

The designation aṅka as a general name for sections may be a later interpolation in the *Ātmakhyāti*-cum-*kalaśa*. But, most probably, it can be interpreted here as "a number", and not as "an act". Similarly, the designation : pūrva-raṅga for the introductory section of the *Ātmakhyāti/Kalaśa* appears to be a later interpolation, since such designations are avoided in the *Tātparya-vṛtti* of Jayasena, who followed the former as a model for his interpretation of the *Samayasāra*. This indicates that the version of the *Ātmakhyāti*-cum-*Kalaśa*, which Jayasena would have consulted for the *Tātparya-vṛtti* contained a normal and original designation pīṭhikā for the introductory section and the designation adhikāra for all other sections in general. Similar is the case also of the *Bālabodha* of Pāṇḍe Rāyamalla, to whom such designations are unknown.

We have yet to examine the *Jñāna-candrodaya-nāṭaka* (=*JCN*) of Padmasundara in the context of our present study. Padmasundara was familiar with the Mogul kings of Delhi ever since his religious teacher Ānandameru was honoured by Babar and Humayun (see *JCN*. Intr. p. 1). He was, moreover, closely acquainted with many Digambaras of the North, and developed intimate friendship with Pāṇḍe Rāyamalla, to such an extent that one of his works called *Rāyamallâbhyudaya* is named after him. It is, therefore, beyond doubt that Padmasundara was oriented in the *Samayasāra* and the *Ātmakhyāti/Kalaśa* directly through Pāṇḍe Rāyamalla, who also enjoyed a royal patronage in Delhi.

The situation of the *JCN* and its title which also contains an epithet nāṭaka is a little different. It contains 398 verses distributed in five sections called aṅkas (Section 1: vss. 1-49.; Section 2 : vss. 1-39.; Section 3: vss. 1-33.; Section 4: vss. 1-114.; Section 5 : vss. 1-163). In colophons of every section, a sub-title: *Paramâtma-vivaraṇa* occurs along with the title: *Jñāna-candrôdaya-nāṭaka*. At the end of section 1 appears a special colophon : iti paramâtma-pūrva-raṅgaḥ pūrṇaḥ, which suggests that the 1st section is called pūrva-raṅga (prologue). Moreover, many stray remarks and stage-directions are found inserted into the text/sections or in between some verses, e.g. Section 2, in the beginning : atha jīvaḥ ... avatarati, bandhaḥ praviśati. ("Now appears Jīva, Bandha enters."). It should be borne in mind that jīva (soul) and bandha (bondage) are not any dramatic characters in the *JCN* like the *Ātmakhyāti/Kalaśa*! Further, after vs. 5 : atha ... avatarati paramâtmā. ("Now appears... Paramâtmā."). Here, paramâtman is not a dramatic

character! Similarly, see such stage-directions, etc. in Section 3 : after vss. 4, 16, at the end of the section. --- Section 4 : in the beginning, after vss. 87, 96, 100. --- Section 5 : in the beginning, after vs. 162, etc.

So far as the stray remarks and stage-directions in the *JCN* are concerned, it is needless to repeat that they, like those in the *Ātmakhyāti*-cum-*kalaśa* are also irrelevant and a later interpolation, e.g. compare:-*JCN*: section 1, designation pūrva-raṅga and for other sections, a common designation aṅka, ... so also *Ātmakhyāti/Kalaśa*: section 1, designation pūrva-raṅga and for other sections, a common designation aṅka! Both of them can never be called literary plays or dramas. They are purely metaphysical treatises, their ontological and cosmological entities cannot be construed as dramatis personae. N.J. Shah has traced some verses from Kundakunda's works (*Samayasāra*, Pravacanasāra, etc.) and some prose passages together with *kalaśa*-verses from Amṛtacandra's commentary on the *Samayasāra* and shown their impact on the *JCN* (see *JCN*. Intr., p. 2, and relevant footnotes in the main text, moreover, cf. kalaśa-vs. 43 : ... mohas tu ... nānaṭîti, and kalaśa-vs, 44 : naṭati pudgala eva. with *JCN* : 4.89 : sa pudgala-naṭôdbhaṭo naṭati nānaṭîti sphuṭam/).

The original title of the *JCN* seems to be *Jñāna-candrodaya* (without the epithet nāṭaka) according to *JCN* 5.161 and also 5.163! In this context, the colophons mentioning the title *Jñāna-candrodaya-nāṭaka* five times at the end of each section should be viewed as spurious. At this stage it is worthwhile to hint at the spurious character of the *JCN* as a whole. We presume, each section of the *JCN* is an independent unit of composition. All the five sections as independent units bear the name of the poet (Padmasundara) every time and different title-names in their concluding verses as depicted in Table 4.

From this, it is certain that the title *Jñāna-candrôdaya* was originally meant only for the 5th section. An arrangement of copying all units together in one manuscript with the 5th unit coming last, would have created an impression that the units are different sections (aṅkas) of a one single work, which would be entitled *Jñāna-candrôdaya* as expressed clearly in the concluding vss. 162-163 (of the 5th unit). It is generally a practice of the scholiasts to give their personal data not inside of, but at the end of,—i.e. in the concluding part of their compositions. And, especially the verse 163 of the unit 5 is characteristically outstanding to attract anybody's attention. By contrast, concluding verses of the other units do not provide the required data in detail, and remain very much in the background. However, we admit,

Table 4 : Jñāna-candrodaya-nāṭaka:
Its sections with concluding verses.

Sections (vss.)	Indept. Unit-title		concluding verse (only relevant portion cited)
1. (vss.1-49) -	Sûkti	...	Padmasundara-kaveḥ Sûktayaḥ. (vs.49)
2. (vss. 1-39) -	Paramâtma-sarit.	...	Paramâtma-sarit ...Padmasundara ... (vs. 39)
3. (vss. 1-33) -	Upadeśa	...	Padmasundarasya... Upadeśaḥ. (vs. 33)
4. (vss. 1-114) -	Tattvârtha-vijñāna.	...	Tattvârtha-vijñānaṃ Padmasundara-sūcitam. (vs. 113)
5. (vss. 1-163) -	Jñāna-candrôdaya.	...	vyākhyātuṃ sa kila...-kuśalaḥ śrī-Jñāna-candrodayam. (vs.161)
		...	-Padmasundara-muniḥ sutrârtha-sandarbha-to vyāyogaṃ racayāṃ-cakāra kim-api śrī-Jñāna-candrôdayaṃ. (vs.163)

this is our working hypothesis, and it has still to be explained well how the five units were combined together and represented as a single work. We leave this entire problem open for further investigation.

Yet we have to say something about the concluding verse 163 of the 5th section. It recurs with some variants in the last two lines (the later half of the 3rd line and the 4th line in full) as a praśasti (glorification) in Padmasundara's two other works, viz. the *Rāyamallâbhyudaya* and the *Pārśvanātha-carita*.[4] Due to a dramaturgic term vyāyoga (a kind of drama, especially a one-act play) in our verse 163, some persons (scribes or scholiasts) mistook the entire collection of 5 units as a drama (*vyāyoga* in its non-technical meaning may mean a heroic exploit of the Supreme-soul, or its separation from the matter), and interpolated in the text some matters of dramatic importance as stated above. Elsewhere in the present study we have mentioned that the Digambaras of the 16th/17th century in the North were inclined towards assigning a designation of nāṭaka to an outstanding work based on the *Ātmakhyāti/Kalaśa* and to supply here and there in it some remarks of dramatic importance. They admitted the Śvetāmbara work *JCN* also to

the category of the nāṭaka, not merely on the merit of its contents faithfully derived from the mystic philosophy of the *Samayasāra* and the *Ātmakhyāti/Kalaśa*, but its author, a Śvetāmbara scholiast Padmasundara had by nature overcome the barriers of petty Śvetāmbara-Digambara prejudices, and established utter familiarity with the Digambaras. In addition to such personal contacts, the political factor (for Padmasundara's continued contacts with the Mogul emperors, see above) played to some extent also a considerable part in the so-called "nāṭakization" of Padmasundara's *JCN*. On the contrary, such factors were missing for obliging the *Adhyātam-bindu* (ca. 17th/18th cent., late after Padmasundara's time), a metrical composition of a Śvetāmbara monk Harṣavardhana, dealing with the mystic theme of the *Samayasāra*. It was not accepted in the category of the nāṭaka.for many reasons. His treatment of the theme is, in a greater extent, of general nature. He tries at places to ignore the mystic classics of the Digambaras and tends to search out parallels more from the Śvetāmbara sources (Prajñāpanā, Bhagavatī, Nandī, etc.), which suggests a considerable lack of his catholic outlook (see his auto-commentary on *Adhyātma-bindu* 1.18, where he criticizes Amṛtacandra vis-a-vis Samayasāra. The *Adhyātma-bindu* is divided into four sections, which are called *dvā-triṃśikas*, since each of them contains 32 verses.).

But how the dramatic term *vyāyoga* in the verse 163 appeared abruptly in the *JCN* (section 5), which is clearly of a non-dramatic nature, is a problem that remains still unsolved. Is the text rendered spurious, or is it a misreading of something original? One thing is certain, that the verse has been made spurious by someone. However, we leave the problem open for the scholars to shed more light on it in the future.

Conspectus

1. The epithet : nāṭaka (dance performance) :-

in the texts : mystic sense : "mundane character",———
as a title : "mystic philosophy of the *Samayasāra*",
(Principal Application). The epithet came into existence in ca. 16th century and survived till the end of the 17th century.

It was in use among the Digambara mystics of the North for outstanding mystic treastises (metrical compositions) of the Digambaras on the basis of the *Samayasāra* (Secondary Application).

2. **The epithet : nāṭaka misunderstood : "drama/play" :-**
The medieval texts in Sanskrit (*Ātmakhyāti/Kalaśa* and *JCN*, of Secondary Application) were subject to interpolations (stray remarks, stage directions, etc.) in the period between the 16th and the 17th or 18th centuries, in the North, due to their characteristic usages of the root naṭ-/nṛt-and its derivatives. Interpolators : mostly Digambaras.

3. The Principal and the Secondary Applications of the epithet nāṭaka:- (m.p.="mystic philosophy of the *Samayasāra*")

(i)	*Samayasāra* (Prakrit Classic)	"*Samayasāra-nāṭaka*" (m.p.) Principal Application.	Title used, the first time in the *SN*.
(ii)	*(Ātmakhyāti) Kalaśa* (Sanskrit Classic)	"*Samayasāra-nāṭaka*" (rarely) (m.p. in the Kalaśa) Secondary Application.	Title used, the first time in the *SN*.
(iii)	*Jñāna-candrôdaya* (nāṭakization)	*Jñāna-candrôdaya-nāṭaka* (m.p. in the *Jñāna-candrôdaya*) Secondary Application	Title interpolated by a Digambara (?)
(iv)	*Samayasāra-Nāṭaka* (Vernacular Classic)	(m.p. in the vernacular) Secondary Application.	Title used for the *SN*.

4. The root naṭ—causative : context with the liberated state, pure spirit, not in dramatic sense, but in the sense : "to experience one's self/the Reality".

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The story of the nāṭaka epithet is not confined to mere title-designation, interpretation and "dramatic" changes. This is but a plain outline of the *Samayasāra*-literature. Its undercurrents, however, glide regularly bringing extraordinary occurrences and radical changes in Jainism. It has created a consistent history of some 700 years of revolutions and reforms, of conversions and criticisms. In this respect, Amṛtacandra's *Kalaśa* played the most significant role in spreading the mystic philosophy in Jainism. Pāṇḍe Rāyamalla propagated it with

intensity by means of learned discourses and the *Bālabodha* vacanikā in the 16th century. It proved a magnatic force for attracting many Jainas towards the novel ideas in Jainism (cf. *SN* : con.24. --- Bodha vacanikā phāīlī ... pragaṭī jaga-māṃhi jina-vāṇī, ghara-ghara "nāṭaka"—kathā bakhānī.—— also Con. 25-31).

As a result, the nāṭaka-philosophy stimulated many Śvetāmbaras to religious conversions in ideas and in practice. Padmasundra, a Śvetambara scholiast came in closer contact with Pāṇḍe Rāyamalla and composed the *JCN*., Pt. Banārasīdāsa, a Śvetambara layman, being fascinated by Pāṇḍe Rāyamalla's discourses, accepted the Digambara sect, and composed a vernacular poetry (SN) on the mystic philosophy.

Among the other Śvetāmbaras who followed the mystic ideas are Harṣavardhana, the author of the *Adhyātma-bindu*, deriving its mystic ideas from the *Samayasāra*-literature, Pt. Jayacanda Chābaḍā who wrote a vacanikā on the *Samayasāra/Kalaśa* and adopted the (Digambara) Terāpanthī sect established by Pt. Banārasīdāsa, Pt. Rājacandra (19th-20th cent. in Gujarat, see *JCN* Intr., p 2), and Kānjī svāmī (20th cent., religious activities in Songarh, Gujarat), who adopted the Digambara sect and all the time preached the mystic philosophy.

The revolutionary ideas of the nāṭaka-literature brought out drastic changes and religious movements in the orthodox Jaina church. They stirred up many conservative Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras alike to severe criticism. Pt. Banārasīdāsa started a new school of mystic thought in Agra, which was later known by the name of (Digambara) Terāpanthī sect. His views became an object of verbal attacks from the rival Śvetāmbara scholiasts. Meghavijaya's *Yuktiprabodha*, otherwise called *Banārasī-mata-khaṇḍana* (a Prakrit work with an auto-commentary in Sanskrit on it, appeared in ca. 17th cent. in Agra) severely criticized Pt. Banārasīdāsa's views. Some orthodox Digambaras too became hostile to his reforms in the Digambara church. The Śvetāmbaras in general regard the mystic approach of the Digambara mystics as heterodox. The mystic philosophy is severely criticized in late Śvetāmbara works also, for instance, Yaśovijaya's *Nayôpadeśa*, vss. 80-82 (Vijayanemisūri Jaina Granthmālā, Jaina Grantha Prasāraka Sabhā, No. 36, ca. 1951). But the same Yaśovijaya (1623-1687) in his old age seems to have slightly favoured the mystic/vedāntic ideas. Pt. Banārasīdāsa's ideas and reform activities were later carried on by Pt. Toḍarmalla (ca. 18th cent.) in Jaipur.

Last but not the least, Kānjī svāmi became all the more a target of the orthodox Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras, due to his adherence to and propagation of the nāṭaka-philosophy. He was excommunicated

from the Jaina hierarchy. But he remained firm in his mission of preaching mysticism of the nāṭakas in Gujarat. His innumerable staunch followers announced him posthumously a 25th Jaina tīrthakara after the Mahāvīra. This also provoked criticism in the entire Jaina community of India against the sensational and the most controversial issue of the 25th tīrthakara in Jainism.

NOTES

1. Kundakunda seems to have borrowed some expressions verbatim from Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā*, e.g.

   dve satye samupâśritya buddhānāṃ dharma-deśanā/
   loka-saṃvṛti-satyaṃ ca satyaṃ ca paramârthataḥ// 24.8.
   vyavahāram anāśritya paramârtho na vidyate/
   paramârtham anāgamya nirvāṇaṃ nâdhigamyate//24.10

   (Vaidya, pp. 215-216). The verse 24.10 is cited by Nāgārjuna in his auto-commentary on the Vigrahavyāvartanī vs. 28. (Vaidya, p. 285). It is comparable with *Samayasāra* vs. 8:

   jaha ṇa 'vi sakkaṃ aṇajjo aṇajja-bhāsaṃ viṇā du gāheduṃ/
   taha vavahāreṇa viṇā param'-atth'-uvadesaṇam asakkaṃ//

   "Just as an anārya can not be understood without the language of an anārya, similarly without the vyavāhara (-naya) the instruction about the ultimate reality is not possible".

   This Prakrit verse can be compared with a Sanskrit verse from the *Catuḥśataka* by Āryadeva, a direct disciple of Nāgārjuna:

   nânyayā bhāṣayā mlecchaḥ śakyo grāhayituṃ yathā/
   na laukikam ṛte lokaḥ śakyo grāhayituṃ tathā// 8.19

   "Just as it is impossible to make a barbarian understand in a foreign language, it is impossible to make people of this world understand (the truth) without reference to worldly things" (KL. pp. 84-85).
   We think, this verse does not fit into the context of verses 18 and 20 in the *Catuḥśataka*; (see Bhatt 1974, p. 283, footnotes 21-24—Lindtner 1982, p. 279 ll, lines 5-14 with footnotes—KL p. 85 with footnotes).———Expressions similar to *Samayasāra* vs. 8 a-b are found also in *Sūyagaḍa* I.1.2. vs. 15 as follows:

milakkhū a-milakkhussa jahā vuttāṇubhāsae/
na heuṃ se vijāṇāi bhāsiyaṃ t' aṇubhāsae//

"Ebenso, wie ein Nicht-Ārya die Worte eines Ārya wiederholt,—er versteht ... nicht, sondern er wiederholt nur das Gesagte -,"
(Bollee.Teil 1, pp. 18, 93)

Further about the mlecchas, see Aupapātika vs. 16 and *Mahābhārata* 8.45. vs. 36, viz.

mlecchāḥ sva-saṃjñā-niyatāḥ.../ (also Bollee, p. 94)

The mlecchas stick to their own notions/expressions, compare Nīlakaṇṭha's explanation of the verse:

sarvaṃ jānanto 'pi yavanā *mlecchāś* ca *sva-saṃjñāyāṃ* svīyaiḥ kṛto dharma-saṅketas tatraiva *niyatā* vaidikaṃ dharmaṃ na mānayantīty arthaḥ.
(*Mahābhārata*, p. 82)

and cp. also Viṣṇudharmôttara Purāṇa Ch. 4 vs 8:

dur-bodhaṃ viṣamaṃ caiva rākṣānāṃ prakīrtitam/
gūḍhā kṣaraṃ tu yakṣānāṃ kinnarair ukta-vat tathā//

2. In order to examine an implication of the title name *Ātmakhyāti*, its critical analysis and comparison with relevant Buddhist or other texts are very much essential. This being a different type of study has not been discussed here further. But, for various khyātis popular in Indian philosophy, e.g. anyathā-khyāti of the Nyāya/Vaiśeṣika, a-khyāti of the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā, asat-khyāti of the Śūnyavāda (Buddhists), etc., the readers are referred to various commentaries on Śaṅkara's Introduction to his *Brahma-Sūtra Bhāṣya*, see also : Bhatt 1978.
3. For facts and figures, see the *Samayasāra-Nāṭaka* :-

Pāṇḍe Rājamalla jina-dharmī, Samaisāra nāṭaka-ke marmī/
(con.23)
nāṭaka Samaisāra hita jī-kā, sugama-rūpa Rājamalī-ṭīkā/
(con.34)
Samayasāra kalasā ati nīkā, Rājamalī sugama yaha ṭīkā/
(v.1, from a ms. from Idar)
soraha-sau tirānavai bītai,... tā dina grantha samāpata kīnā//
(con. 36)
sukha-nidhāna... Sāhajahāṃ sulatāna// (con.37)

.....sakala sāta-sai sattāisa ṭhīka ṭhānai haiṃ/
battīsa acchara-ke siloka kīne lekhai,
grantha-saṃkhyā satraha sai sāta adhikānai haiṃ//(con.39)

Con. 23, 34 and Idar-ms. confirm Banārasīdāsa's familiarity with the *Bālabodha* of Pāṇḍe Rājamalla, con. 36-37 inform about the time (the Vikrama-saṃvat 1693, during the reign of the Mogul king Śāhajahā) when the *Samayasāra-Nāṭaka* was completed, and con. 39 informs us about total number of Hindi rhymes (727) and the grantha-saṃkhyā (as many as 1707), for their distribution in sections, etc., see our Table 2.

4. The last two lines of the verse 163 (*JCN* section 5) with variants recur as follows:

......................śrī-Pārśvanāthâhvayaṃ
kāvyaṃ navyam idaṃ cakāra sarasâlaṅkāra-sandarbhitam//
(*Pārsvanātha-carita* vs.)

......................śrī-Rāyamallôdayaṃ
kāvyam navyam idaṃ cakāra sakalârhad-vṛtta-bhavyâṅkitam//
(*Rāyamâllabhyudaya* vs. 100)

References from Premī, p. 399.

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2. 415 gāthās, ed. Pt. Kailash Chandra Jain, *Kundakunda Prābhṛta Sangraha*. JJG 9. 1960, pp. 193 ff.

3. 437 gāthās, ed. J.L. Jaini (with Eng. Tr.) SBJ 8. 1930. (The additional 24 verses of this edition belong to the Jayasena version.)

Bārasa Aṇuvekkhā. (*Anuprekṣā*). ed. JJG. 9. 1960, pp. 136-153. see: *Bhatt*. 1977.

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Chappāhuḍas. (*Ṣaṭ-prābhṛtas*): *Daṃsaṇa-*, *Cāritta-*, *Sutta-*, *Bodha-*, *Bhāva-*, and *Mokkha-pāhuḍa*. ed. see: *Aṭṭha-pāhuḍas*.

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Āryadeva. see: *KL*.

Aṣṭa-prābhṛtas. see: *Aṭṭha-pāhuḍas*. (Bibliography A)

Ātmakhyāti. see: Amṛtacandra.

Ātmakhyāti/Kalaśa. see: Amṛtacandra.

Bālabodha. see: *Kalaśa*.

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Bollée see : *Sūyagaḍa*.

Catuḥśataka. see : KL.

Devasena. see : *Nayacakra*.

DJS =Digambara Jaina Svâdhyây Mandir Trust. Songarh.

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Jayasena. see : *Tātparya-vṛtti.*

JCN = Jñāna-candrôdaya-nāṭaka. see : Padmasundara

JJG = Jīvarāj Jaina Granthamālā. Sholapur.

JSK = *Jainendra Siddhānta Kośa*. Parts 1-4 by Jinendra varni. ed. Bhāratiya Jñānapīṭha, Delhi. 1970-1973.

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see also : *Amṛtacandra.*

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Nāgārjuna see: *Vaidya.*

Nāṭaka = Samayasāra-Nāṭaka see : *Samayasāra-Nāṭaka.*

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SN = Samayasāra-Nāṭaka. see : *Samayasāra-Nāṭaka*.

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